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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-94-247 *23 December 1994*

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Former Yeltsin Adviser Discusses Current Issues

AU2112142494 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Dec 94 p 9

[Interview with Georgiy Arbatov, director of the U.S. and Canada Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, by Laszlo M. Lengyel in Budapest; date not given: "There Is A Security Vacuum in Russia"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Academician Georgiy Arbatov was an influential adviser to Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, and Gorbachev. For some time, he also advised Yeltsin. Arbatov visited Budapest recently at the invitation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[Lengyel] What is the essence of the Russian foreign policy today? Is there a Yeltsin or Kozyrev doctrine?

[Arbatov] I am afraid that Kozyrev does not have the opportunity to deal with concepts in foreign hotels and airports where he spends most of his time. We have everything in Russia now: nationalism, fascism, mysticism, astrology, and expectations for a miracle; only science and thoughts are increasingly diminishing. The order of values has changed in Russia: It is now more barbaric and more capitalistic than in the capitalist countries. Most people in the West would now be ashamed to admit that money is their most important value; rather, they regard democracy, a more just society, environmental protection, and assistance to backward countries as major values. Everything has roughened in Russia. What remains for foreign policy? First, our foreign politicians thought that the most important thing was to fulfill the expectations of the West. If Gromyko could be called "Mr. Nyet," our democratic foreign politicians could well be called "Mr. Da." The Western proposal was hardly announced, we already agreed with it, although we continued to have our own interests. In addition, this attitude harmed the self-respect of the Russian people who have always been well informed in foreign policy matters. We used to have initiatives in the past. This process finally led to the end of the Cold War. Now, all of a sudden, we are unable to come up with anything. At most, we can come up with excuses for our nationalists making fun over our weaknesses. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] The reality is that Russia is nevertheless a big power; it can only behave naturally in this role....

[Arbatov] No matter how we are looking at it, Russia is a big power. It is now in crisis and a difficult situation. It committed a number of mistakes. For example, it lost the Soviet Union in a stupid way. The Soviet Union could have been maintained; of course without the Baltics, and not in the previous form, but as a federation of independent states with common interests, as a common market, or a confederation. However, Russia still has its military power. It has a lot of weapons, too many as a matter of fact. One should take this into consideration. This country's intellectual potential is even more important. Russia is a cultural and scientific big power, and it is facing a great future; with time, it will regain its deserved place and will also reorganize the union but, of course, not in the previous form. In other words, this is a big power and it would be a big mistake not to take it into consideration. Of course, Kozyrev ponders little about all this. It is not his idea that Russia's prestige should be preserved. This is the truth.

[Lengyel] Is it, therefore, an objective mistake to enlarge NATO?

[Arbatov] When we say that we do not allow anyone to dictate to us, this is a stupid declaration. If, however, we interpret this in a way that we have eliminated NATO's main enemy in our own eyes, who can then say that it is not our business to have a say in the future shape of the military alliance closest to our borders? What, if not this, is an issue for international debate? Therefore, here I feel obliged to agree with Kozyrev on many things. Enlarging NATO is a mistake. Not because we are afraid. We are neither Hungary, the Czech Republic, or Poland to be afraid. However, the only way we can explain this is that NATO is a military alliance, one created against us and, in spite of a lack of enemy, it wants to survive and even strengthen. We can find reasons for its desire to survive, precisely because the lack of stability in the former Soviet Union. However, if no new cold war starts and we also switch to a normal development pace, one should simply understand that there will be no need for NATO. Instead, we need a trustworthy European security system, complete with means and principles. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] Are there any close dangers threatening you?

[Arbatov] Of course. Some of our southern neighbors are using the Islamic card; others are striving to make it into the Western bloc. In addition, there are 33 million Russians living abroad. There are 6 million Ukrainians in Russia and Kazakhstan. Half of the Armenians are living outside their country. Kyrgyzstan can hardly have an independent army. Where else, if not here, is there a need for balance? [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] What are your views on Russia's future as a superpower and world political factor?

[Arbatov] First of all, we have to get out of the economic crisis. There is no real reason for Russia to be in crisis forever, or for the production to be reduced by half when we had meat, milk, butter, potatoes, and grain. The country is rich in minerals. If the country is not misused and we use our resources sensibly then this would be enough for the country. We also have to develop democracy. We are actually getting further away from it. The president is getting extraordinary rights, we do not even know who is governing us. What happened in the mayor's office the other day? Or at the Legislature last year? Or during the coup? What is happening in the country? Murders are rampant. Would this state be

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unable to create order? Rather, it does not want to create order and many people are happy about this. In the meantime, we do not have a real freedom of the press. Democracy does not have any institutions. We have democracy because no one is banning anything at the moment, but democracy has no guarantees, either. We do not know who has made what decision on the Chechen issue.

[Lengyel] However, the world finds it dangerous that Russia is not as it should be and we cannot know when everything will collapse with chaos, civil war, or foreign adventure ensuing.

[Arbatov] Of course, the West is also to be blamed for this to a large extent. They supported Gaydar's reforms, in fact, they added their own model to it. They convinced Yeltsin—who does not know much about the economy—that this is the correct way. Many Russians claim it very seriously that this was a plot, an attempt against Russia to make it weaker.

[Lengyel] However, Russia cannot be part of the West: It is a different civilization, a different culture....

[Arbatov] This is true but it can be a base of raw materials and a market of finished products and food stuffs.

[Lengyel] I feel that you foresee a different future for Russia....

[Arbatov] I foresee a decentralized and democratically controlled economy—and the same type of political power. Yeltsin can remain president but only with the counterbalance of the legislature and the constitutional court, and with the exclusion of the possibility of dictatorship. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] You do have some hopes I imagine?

[Arbatov] I have two pessimistic and one optimistic scenarios. Economic collapse followed by political chaos and dictatorship is one of the negative ones. The other negative one is the eruption of nationalism and imperialism, a war that could even be started in the Caucasus if we cannot quickly extinguish the current fire, because this is directly linked to the Volga River and to the direction of Central Asia. The optimistic version is that we realize the need for economic and political changes and for continuous and consistent measures, we institutionalize democracy, rethink legislation, and replace the corrupt and inadequate leaders. We wind up organized crime and break the power of the mafias. Then we will have a way out. At the moment, people are disappointed and they are tied up with the struggle with everyday problems. As soon as life is a little easier for them, huge energies could be released which can be useful in a democratic system.

[Lengyel] Can this be done with Yeltsin or only after he is gone?

[Arbatov] I trust that this is possible with Yeltsin, and I am not alone in this view. We have seen him react very well in very difficult situations. However, I can also see people who could succeed him. [passage omitted]

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Dec

LD2312084494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0715 GMT 23 Dec 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—Today's central press continues to highlight developments in Chechnya.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA:

"It must be admitted that the true essence of the grouping that took power in Chechnya in 1991 was discerned in Moscow not by everyone and not at once.

"It is not superfluous to recall that the grouping came to power riding the crest of a wave of struggle against the old party officialdom which discredited itself but which was still at the helm at that time both in the autonomous republic and in the other regions of the country.

"By the standards of the period, any renovation looked promising and progressive. The leading Russian politicians apparently did not come to see at once the true colours of Dudayev himself.

"Of course, a timely elimination of the seat of separatism and crime was also prevented by a number of objective circumstanses of the internal political situation in recent years...

"It appears obvious that whatever the 'national peculiarities' of some or other citizens, any state respecting itself cannot adapt to them—or adjust accordingly - its common legal principles".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries a statement by Andrey Nikolayev, commander-in-chief of Russia's frontier forces, who emphasises: "The danger still exists of attempts by groups of armed people to break through and get out of Chechnya territory and into Dagestan and Ingushetia, which may lead to unpredictable consequenses.

"Therefore, from 00.00 on December 21, 1994, the crossing of the state border of the Russian Federation by people, transport vehicles, freight and goods from Azerbaijan and Georgia was suspended. Border and customs control has been enhanced at the airports and seaports which are open for international air services and sea communication of Russia with Azerbaijan and Georgia".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI runs an exclusive interview with Lieutenant General Stanislav Kavun, deputy commander of the Russian Interior- Ministry troops. Who states: "Our objective is to disarm an armed bandit or kill him but not fight against Chechens. Therefore Russian troops have to show restraint and self-control in the use of weapons".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA:

"Until recently, an assault on Groznyy was not part of the 'general concept' because it does not resolve the 'disarmament' issue: Dudayev forces would simply go into the mountains and wage guerrilla warfare. In that case Russia would have to keep a powerful group of armed forces and Interior-Ministry troops in Chechnya - without adequate support and placing an additional burden on the federal budget.

"The army would be confronted with the need to take tough measures against the 'guerrillas' - actually part of the population of its own country. This, in the opinion of experts, would lead to nowhere. It is not ruled out that at the present 'post-negotiation' stage, Defence-Ministry forces (paratroopers, special-purpose troops or landing assault brigades) may receive an order to seize Dzhokhar Dudayev and militants who have gathered around him.

"Sources pointed out that with such a turn of events no one would want to get linked with a 'notorious trial' and in the end an official report would come to the effect that the Dudayev group was smashed in a fire combat during its attempt to flee (to break through)".

TRUD carries an article by State Duma member Vyacheslav Nikonov who writes that "the consequenses of the current military operations in Chechnya will depend primarily on how long they would continue. If they are dragged out, I do not rule out the worst scenario: A decline in the prestige of the government itself, which will simply demonstrate its ineffectiveness there, increasing casualties, for which it will be blamed, and tremendous economic damage.

"Besides, both international and geopolitical consequenses would be most unfavourable as well, and Russia may finally part with its claim to the status of great power".

IZVESTIYA maintains that "the inspirers and organisers of the military campaign against Chechnya acted without any show of talent. Yes, from the viewpoint of information and political support for the operation, they did everything to weaken support for them in Russian society which is susceptible to various interpretations, and, on the contrary, to enhance support for Dudayev by creating for him almost the aura of modern-day Imam Shamil".

PRAVDA observes that "it is hard for the ordinary person to understand whether President Boris Yeltsin's decision about a war in Chechnya is the right one or erroneous. We have no information to be guided by. By reading reports one cannot get an idea about the essence of the conflict in Chechnya. Our news media in recent days changed their attitudes so quickly that it is just impossible to follow the rotation of the political weathervane."

TRUD runs an article by Stepan Sulakshin, member of the State Duma and deputy chairman of the Republican Party of Russia, about a 1995 budget.

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Sulakshin writes: "It is already clear for everyone that fighting inflation is the main economic problem which has been declared to be the government's supertask. The question is what methods are being used for that. Exclusively monetarist ones. Their essence is simple: not to pay for state-placed orders and not to pay wages, thereby diminishing the population's effective demand. 'The less money, the less inflation' is the formula".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on next year's budget:

"The 'black holes' of the 1994 budget may be inherited by a 1995 one and throw it out of balance. It seems that the government and the Finance Ministry will have to resort to the well-known device of Boris Fyodorov (former finance minister of the Russian Federation - note by ITAR-TASS) when about 9,000,000 million roubles of state debt was inherited by this year's budget from that of the previous year, which indisputably indermined the budget stability from the very ourset".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI points out that "about 350,000 million roubles have been spent on the operation, which began on December 11, to restore law and order in Chechnya. Not less than 1,000,000 million roubles are to be allocated next year for the economic rehabilitation of Chechnya".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI reports that "inflation rate this month will not be more than 15 percent. Over the first two weeks of December, inflation rate was seven percent as against 14.8 in November and 15 in October".

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Chernomyrdin Begins Official Visit to India

LD2212193394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1900 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Delhi, 22 December (ITAR-TASS)—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the government of the Russian Federation, has arrived in India on an official visit. A special flight with the head of the Russian Government on board has landed tonight at the Delhi airport.

The official part of Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit will begin early in the morning on 23 December with a welcoming ceremony in at the square in front of the presidential palace (Rashtrapati Bhvan). On the same day talks will be held with prime minister P.V.Narasimha Rao and other Indian leaders and the signing of joint documents will take place.

Denies Loss of Support From Army

LD2312062894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0613 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New delhi 23 Dec (TASS)—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on an official visit to India categorically denied that the Russian leadership is losing the support of the Army because of the Chechen developments.

Speaking to reporters on Friday [23 December] he also warned that the demands about the resignation of Defence Minister Pavel Grachev "should not be taken for serious".

Chernomyrdin said that "the dismissal of several Army generals is in no way connected with the developments in Chechnya".

Official Calls Report of Iraqi Accord 'Fraud'

LD2212171694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1657 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—Speaking of a "sensational" report about alleged far reaching accords on military cooperation between Moscow and Baghdad, which was published in the Kuwaiti newspaper "AL-QABAS", Grigoriy Karasin, head of the Information and Press Department in the Russian Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today that the report is groundless and an outright fraud.

Facts about certain secret contacts between high-level Russian and Iraqi officials cited by the newspaper are spun out of thin air, the Russian spokesman emphasised. Remarkable imagination was required to "put together" evidently fictitious figures in that article. An impression is created that the publication pursued the aim to discredit Russia's policy towards Iraq, and in a broader perspective, to comlicate the dynamically developing process of multifaceted ties between Russia and states of the Persian Gulf. It is a pity that this article was published in the "AL-QABAS", a newspaper which enjoys popularity in the Gulf states, Karasin said.

Russia has always adhered to all U.N. decisons on Iraq. She has economic and other interests in Iraq, but the Russian side will not promote them secretly, but in strict conformance with provisions of the U.N. Security Council resolutions, Karasin emphasised.

Kostikov Receives Vatican Appointment

LD2312093694 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 0830 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Vyacheslav Kostikov, the press secretary to the country's president, is to be appointed Russia's representative to the Vatican and the Maltese Order. RIA Novosti agency was told this in diplomatic circles, alluding to a decision of a Foreign Ministry collegium session. The Foreign Ministry has not yet confirmed or denied this information. It is not known either who will replace Kostikov as the president's press secretary.

Diplomat Criticizes Bosnian Ceasefire Plan

LD2212170894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 22 Dec 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by our diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, December 22 (Interfax)—The four-month Bosnian ceasefire agreement, brokered by Jimmy Carter, does not mean that fighting is "about to be over in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that an all-out solution has been found for the Bosnian problem."

A high-ranking officer on the staff of the Russian Embassy in Zagreb told Interfax Thursday that "the ceasefire gave the Bosnian communities a break but never aimed for more."

He felt that "the Contact Group, with its concerted policies, should keep playing the leading role in the efforts to settle the Bosnian conflict."

The diplomat saw the Carter initiative as "a good Christmas gift to both the warring communities and the UN peacekeepers in the former Yugoslacvia."

For the time being, he saw no need for disputes on continued UN presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The realization of the ceasefire agreement creates normal conditions for actions under the UN peacekeeping mandate, he said.

The Bosnian Moslems hope that the ceasefire agreement will let them keep control of the Bihac and Cazin enclaves where they found it very difficult to rebuff enemy attacks.

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Besides, the Moslems retained the right to reject a final peace agreement coveted by Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, the diplomat said.

The four-month ceasefire allows Sarajevo to regroup forces and, in case its negotiations with Pale fall through, resume hostilities, he said.

Radovan Karadzic, too, welcomed "every angle" of the ceasefire agreement that enables the Bosnian Serbs to retain control of more than 70 percent of Bosnian territory. (The Contact Group suggested that the Serb community control 19 percent of Bosnia.)

And, which is most important from Karadzic's point of view, the Serb community, and not Belgrade, is to be regarded as a full-fledged negotiating partner. Karadzic proved his ability to find international mediators, the Russian diplomat said.

The ceasefire agreement "plays into the hand of the Croatian leaders who found it hard to explain what their regular army units were doing in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

According to the Embassy source, Zagreb's role in the Bosnian conflict made the UN Security Council "downright angry". The Security Council issued a direct warning to Zagreb, as a result of which, the diplomat said, Zagreb faced the threat of international sanctions.

UN Envoy on Plan To Ease Yugoslavia Sanctions

MM2312105194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Russia Will Advance an Initiative on Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The United Nations, 22 Dec—Russia intends to advance an initiative on further easing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] in the UN Security Council in January. Sergey Lavrov, the Russian Federation's permanent representative at the United Nations, told journalists this on Wednesday [21 December].

"We intend to advance this initiative after the expiry of the initial period of 100 days for which certain sanctions against the FRY were suspended. On the expiry of this term the Security Council intends to discuss the issue of sanctions once again, and this will happen very soon, in January. By that time we hope to have received a report from the mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia on the experience accumulated during these 100 days, and we hope to be able to take the next steps to ease the sanctions," the Russian representative said.

On 5 October certain sanctions against the FRY were suspended for an initial period of 100 days following the UN secretary general's report that the Bosnian-Yugoslav border had been closed to all except humanitarian freight. The restrictions on civilian and passenger flights into and out of Belgrade, on commercial shipments by sea, and also in respect of the FRY's participation in sports competitions and cultural exchanges were suspended.

General Sees Abkhazia as 'Extremely Heated'

LD2212223694 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Dec 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a statement by Major General Vasiliy Yakushev, commander of the Russian peacemaking forces in the area of the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia, the situation in Abkhazia is extremely heated, especially in connection with the situation in Chechnya. According to Yakushev, a rally was held in Sukhumi on 13 December to condemn Russian policy, while the recruitment of volunteers for Chechnya began on 14 December. The Abkhazian army was put on full combat alert.

Is it worth carrying out a peacemaking mission in Abkhazia when Abkhazians on the side of the Chechens are killing Russian servicemen? The question was put to Abkhazian Defense Minister [Sultan] Sosnaliyev by Russian Deputy Defense Minister Georgiy Kondratiyev. Kondratiyev has given the order for putting Russian troops, including the peacemaking troops, in Abkhazia on full combat alert. It is difficult to predict how events in and around Abkhazia will develop, but it is clear that the Russian leadership will to some extent review its position on the issue.

Government on 'Disinformation' From Press

LD2212182494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1738 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 December (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian Government passed the following report to ITAR-TASS today:

"Reports about a decision allegedly taken by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to dismiss from their posts Col-Gen Aleksey Mityukhin, commander of the North-Caucasus military district; Lt-Gen Vladimir Potapov, chief of staff of the district; and Vladimir Chilindin, first deputy commander of the troops of the same military district , which are being distributed by some foreign journalists, are complete disinformation. Nor do reports on the appointment of new officials to these posts correspond to reality."

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Notes 'Intent' To Speak on Chechnya

LD2212170994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1638 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 December—Russian President Boris Yeltsin intends "in the next few days" to speak to the citizens of Russia to set out his opinions of the events taking place in Chechnya and also his plans for settling the conflict using primarily political methods. This is stated in a letter which the head of state today sent to deputies of the State Duma and the text of which has been passed to ITAR-TASS by the press service of the President of the Russian Federation.

The President of Russia has sent a letter to deputies in connection with their decision to convene a joint sitting of the chambers of the Federal Assembly on 24 December and to invite the head of state to speak at it. "I am sure that this decision is dictated by sincere and justified alarm about the events taking place in the Chechen republic," the document says. "I share your feelings. At the same time I would like to ask you to return to this question." The president gives the following reasons for this:

"Firstly, within the next few days I intend to speak to the citizens of Russia to set out my opinions of the events which are taking place. In my message, plans will be announced for resolving the conflict relying primarily on the use of political methods.

"Secondly, you and I should consider the circumstance that such a meeting will be unconstitutional and its decisions will have no legal force. At the same time, instead of consolidation at this dangerous moment, we shall have a sharp destabilization at the federal level. And this will move us even further away from resolving the Chechen problem.

"Thirdly. Quite soon we are all to have a meeting in connection with my annual message to the Federal Assembly".

"I hope that in this complicated and tragic situation you will display the wisdom and restraint which are characteristic of the State Duma", the head of state concludes.

Yeltsin Declines To Attend Duma Meeting

LD2212173394 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the text of President Yeltsin's reply to the Duma proposal to hold a joint sitting of the Duma, the Federation Council, the president, and the prime minister. Judging by the text of it, the president has politely turned down this proposal. His statement says: I am sure that your decision to hold a joint sitting of the two chambers on Saturday, 24 December, and to invite the president to it was dictated by your anxiety over the Chechen events. Yeltsin says that he shares these feelings, but at the same time he wants the following thoughts to be taken into consideration: the statement says that such a meeting will be unconstitutional and its decision will not have any judicial force. Apart from that, at this dangerous moment the situation at federal level will be destabilized, instead of trying to achieve consolidation, which will delay even further the resolution of the Chechen problem.

Yeltsin also said in his statement that he will address the citizens of Russia in the next couple of days and give his assessment of the events that are taking place. The same address will contain the plan for resolving the conflict. In conclusion Yeltsin expressed the hope that in this complex and traumatic situation the Duma will, as usual, show wisdom and restraint.

Dubinin Receives Deputy Minister Appointment

LD2312102194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0927 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Dec—By instruction of the Russian Federation Government, Yuriy Dubinin, ambassador at large, has been appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation. In an official document, which was received by ITAR-TASS today from the apparatus of the Russian Federation Government, it also states that henceforth the Russian foreign policy department is permitted to have 10 deputy ministers of foreign affairs, including two first deputy ministers.

Lysenko Discusses 'Authoritarian Trends'

MK2212143294 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[Article by Vladimir Lysenko, State Duma deputy and chairman of the Russian Republican Party, in the "Appraisal" column: "An Authoritarian Regime Is Inevitable. On Prospects of Federal Elections in View of the Situation in Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The events in Chechnya will have far reaching consequences for Russia. The epoch of embracing an authoritarian regime, which was started by the September-October events of last year in Moscow, has entered a new period with the introduction of troops to Chechnya's territory. This is a period of a further scaling down of democratic institutions and, possibly, a lengthy moratorium on elections.

Behind the seemingly accidental and chaotic character of events some regularities can in fact be discerned. As authoritarian trends in society grow, the evolution of the Russian president continues. Whereas after August 1991 he leaned on democrats and proponents of a strong state, [derzhavniki] giving priority to the former, after last October the advocates of a strong state began to consolidate their positions in the president's entourage, and, judging by the Chechen events, it is most likely that now

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Yeltsin will completely orient himself toward them. The tough opposition on the part of virtually all democrats (except for B. Fedorov) to the forceful actions by the president in Chechnya and statements by the democratically minded members of the Presidential Council and presidential aides about their intention to resign in the event of Groznyy being stormed are a graphic confirmation of the inevitable early divorce.

Whereas last October Yeltsin dealt a heavy blow against the positions of the democrats and communists, this November, by launching hostilities in Chechnya, he struck a powerful blow against the positions of the national-patriots, beginning to play on their turf. At the same time, according to some prominent Russian political scientists, under Yeltsin an authoritarian regime cannot be stable.

First, we lack support foundations for authoritarianism: ideology, apparatus, and power structures capable of ensuring authoritarian rule.

Second, the president's action in Chechnya has been rejected by the majority of the country's population. The day before troops were introduced into Chechnya, according to I. Klyamkin's Public Opinion Foundation, 60 percent of Russians thought that troops should not be sent in; 42 percent believed that the entire responsibility for the events in Chechnya is borne by the president, and 20 percent, by the power structures. At the same time the population considers that the government and the Federal Assembly are not responsible for the events in Chechnya.

What are the possible trends for the situation to evolve after the Chechen crisis?

1. The gap between the ruling authority and society continues to deepen. There is a crisis of political leadership on a nationwide scale at the democratic flank and at the center of the political spectrum. The conflict in Chechnya is increasingly taking on a personal character as a conflict between Yeltsin and Dudayev. President Yeltsin will not be forgiven a defeat, but neither will he be forgiven a victory at too high a price (I would like to recall that as soon as the Americans lost 15 men in the "peacekeeping mission" in Somalia, they immediately left the country).

2. Divisions within the political elite continue. Significantly, not over problems of the market, or over orientation toward the West or toward our own native soil, but over matters of power and property ownership. Many are concerned today over who will hold power and how it will be shared. Because nowhere near all state property has been divided, because not all the "privatized" property has been legitimized, and because ownership rights have not everywhere been transformed into functioning capital, the issue of property continues to be most acute. The Chechen crisis, which has revealed the authorities' low competence level, has effectively raised the question of which authoritarian regime will be asserted in Russia: a centralized one (with the president of the Russian Federation at its head) or a decentralized one (with the predominant influence of regional elites). The recent sharp statements by the Federation Council on the president's military activity in Chechnya show that the regional elite not only in the Russian republics but also in many krays and oblasts will be actively opposing the president's attempt to return to a unitary state, at the same time upholding a strengthening of authoritarian foundations at the regional level (holding no elections, ignoring representative power bodies, and so forth).

In these conditions, the deepening conflict between the central and regional elites can lead to the disintegration of the Russian Federation.

3. With the onset of the Chechen crisis, integration trends in the CIS began quickly to weaken. Not only democrats and centrists in Ukraine and Belorussia are in confusion, but even local communists state that they are now against the restoration of the USSR, because who is there to unite with: an imperialist Russia?

The Russian "moderate imperialists" are in a no less mournful mood: All their plans for a peaceful merging of neighboring states with Russia in the near future have failed. Meanwhile the idea of restoring Great Russia as a Russian state is rapidly growing. The Chechen conflict is on the verge of developing from a political conflict into a national one. In any event, once Russian Cossacks have appeared in Chechnya, a national war cannot be stopped. If events follow this scenario, there is a great danger of an "explosion" in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and other republics. And this means a "Yugoslavization" of the conflict, when everybody will be fighting everybody else. With the beginning of the Chechen crisis, Russians will become hostages not only in Chechnya but also in the Commonwealth states. Russia is losing the moral right to stand up for its fellow tribesmen....

What can be expected from the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections, if and when they take place?

1. If parliamentary elections take place on 12 December 1995, then, according to I. Klyamkin, they will mainly repeat the results of last year's elections, with a strengthening of the radicals' positions.

The extreme nationalist opposition, having supported the president's actions in Chechnya, at the same time advocates a more consistent and tougher enforcement of order. It effectively proposes an alternative program for getting out of the crisis in its radical-nationalist version, stating that there can be no middle-of-the-road position here. There is a great danger of these forces shifting their political positions from the state idea (which so far agitates the population in the social, not geographic or political, sense) to the ethnic (or religious) idea of setting Russians against non-Russians, and the Orthodox against the Muslims, which can lead to such enormous

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tragic consequences on the entire Eurasian space that are now difficult even to imagine.

Communists (in their orthodox version as they exist here) have no real chances of increasing their share of the vote in the next election; neither, incidentally, do members of the Russia's Choice Party.

I. Klyamkin believes that as a result of the next election, power may be taken by people who distance themselves from the incumbent authorities and operate within the framework of a democratic alternative, democratic rhetoric—i.e., by those who are described as the political center. But the fate of accomplices of the authoritarian regime awaits them too, if only in a more seemly form.

Today the ruling authority and the Center each have approximately one-third of the eligible electors' votes. The opposition has one-quarter of the electorate. But whereas the opposition has had a stable share of the vote for the past three years, the democrats' and the Center's shares are fluid. Under present conditions a substantial part of the population does not perceive parliament as a power: hence a corresponding attitude on the part of the voters.

Therefore, if parliamentary elections are held before presidential elections, then, as a result of nonparticipation by democratic opposition voters, the radical opposition will increase its number of seats in parliament.

Today, however, the prospects for presidential elections are also extremely murky. In the elections, two ideas will be competing: the democratic idea and the national idea. Some 60 percent of voters believe that Russia must be a democratic country and they want no dictatorship. It is noteworthy that they do not regard those now in power as democrats. Therefore, in order to salvage the strategic reform course, the team must be replaced.

The national idea can greatly advance in Russia as an ethnic, not state, one. According to polls conducted by the Public Opinion Foundation, 13 percent of Russians orient themselves toward Western values; 16 percent toward Soviet values, and 60 percent toward traditional Russian values. Some 32 percent of the respondents say that the rights of Russians in the Russian Federation are infringed more than those of other ethnic groups. Herein lies fertile soil for Russian fascism! Polls show that Zhirinovskiy in December 1993 received 13 percent of the registered vote by "defending Russians and upholding a new order." In Russia nationalism can manifest itself in extreme forms.

Among personalities (prior to events in Chechnya), potential votes are distributed as follows (according to Public Opinion Foundation polls): Yeltsin: 17 percent; Yavlinskiy: 11 percent; other democratic and centrist leaders: substantially less. In the opposition, A. Rutskoy is in the lead, with 20 percent; Zhirinovskiy has approximately 5 percent.... But the Chechen events will impose some serious changes into this picture.

Everything you have read above is the author's version of a discussion held at a 19 December meeting of the political Club-93.

The discussion's conclusion was not very optimistic; all that can be done today is to minimize evil, cooperating with the establishment of an authoritarian regime in a civilized form.

Government 'Squabbles' Seen 'Commonplace'

MM2212115394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 94 pp 1,2

[Report by Irina Savvateyeva: "Who is Running the Country—Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, or General Korzhakov?"

[FBIS Translated Text] At a time when the country is alive to the pain and distress of Chechnya, we would not have drawn our readers' attention to a commonplace squabble within the apparatus of government. But a small—two-page—document being actively discussed in government corridors today goes far beyond the limits of a banal slugging match in this apparatus.

I quote: **"Esteemed Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin]! I wish to draw your attention to certain aspects of the activity of former Russian Federation Economics Minister A.N. Shokhin, on whose initiative a number of Russian Federation government directives were recently adopted..."**

A denunciation? It smacks of it, you will agree. But in general terms it is nothing special. Such a genre has already been successfully mastered by the Lobov commission for investigating the causes of "Black Tuesday," and from this point of view, the document offered for your attention does not amount to very much. Indeed, the figure of the retired Aleksandr Shokhin in today's political vortex will hardly excite anyone's interest.

However, Shokhin is just by way of an introduction—to set the tone. In actual fact, the paper is devoted to a theme which is highly topical: It concerns the government's decisions approving the mechanism for the free access of exporters to oil pipelines and elaborating the conditions for attracting funds from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] for the modernization of oil storage and transportation systems in Russia.

In order for the document's import to be absolutely clear to the reader, I will cite the crucial passage: **"...But the national economy cannot be strengthened through foreign intervention in the raw material sectors of the economy, which provide 60 percent of Russia's exports."** And for that reason **"...the conclusion of these agreements will promote the increased dependence of the functioning of these systems on foreign capital...and will make for the contraction of the development of Russian oil refining industry enterprises...and this is absolutely intolerable,**

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not only because of the political, but also because of the economic consequences for the country."

Much can be said about the passages cited above. But there are some things which are completely obvious, which in no way square with the thrust of the message: The World Bank is a noncommercial organization. IBRD credits are unquestionably advantageous, since they are granted for a long term and at an entirely token interest rate. Therefore there can be no question of any **"foreign intervention"** with regard to the granting of the bank's credits.

However, the far from fresh arguments of opponents of foreign investments are hardly stunning news today. In short, the contents of the document in question are not the most important thing. The most important thing are the signatures to the document.

You have three guesses as to what sort of economic expert this is lecturing Viktor Chernomyrdin, the prime minister and not the least gas industry mogul in the country, about the state of affairs in the raw material sectors of the economy. Who is this senior state figure who is taking on himself responsibility for dictating to the head of the Russian state the following terms: **"With the aim of normalizing the situation in the oil sector of the Russian economy...we consider it appropriate to suggest that you instruct Government First Deputy Chairman O. Soskovets...to set up a commission to carry out expert assessment of all the directives cited above from the point of view of their correspondence to national strategy in the sphere of the oil policy and the consolidation of the country's economy."**

So then, who was it?

A Major general. The Chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service. A.V. Korzhakov.

Struck dumb...?

When you regain the power of speech, a number of banal questions arise. What for? Is the president au courant? Who rules us? Is this really a democratic state?

Obviously, the operation which he has undergone and which does not permit the head of state to explain himself to the people even on the question of the outbreak of war will hardly allow him to waste effort on such a "triviality" as interpreting the actions of his personal guard. Especially since in this case we can hardly aspect such a sharp and sensational reaction as in the recent scandal involving this same Mr. Korzhakov and the "Most" financial group. After all, the ideas voiced in the message to Chernomyrdin play into the hands of a very powerful lobby group: specialist oil exporters.

However, in actual fact the influential courtier's attempts to establish personal control over the fuel and energy complex will be a little more serious than the reprisals which Korzhakov's people carried out against Moscow's financial circles. Incidentally, both actions were evidently planned at the same time: A letter was sent to the premier 30 November, and the well-known "operation" against "Most" was carried out 2 December...

Incidentally, Korzhakov's nomination of Oleg Soskovets to the role of the oil sector's savior sheds a little light on certain events at the beginning of November, when the president suddenly instructed Soskovets (while Chernomyrdin was very much alive and kicking) to eliminate some shortcomings in the fuel and energy sector. The premier managed on that occasion to persuade Yeltsin to revoke the instruction. But, as we see, certain forces interested in "wresting the fuel and energy complex from under Chernomyrdin's control" are continuing to stubbornly try to get their own way.

However, who these forces are operating through remains a riddle. Directly through the president, who for some reason has instructed Mr. Korzhakov to **"resolve the problem,"** or through Mr. Korzhakov himself, who in this instance has decided to play his own game?

It must be said that in both cases the head of state is virtually invisible. If letters such as the one cited above are being sent out by the chief of the Presidential Security Service without the president's knowledge, it must be observed that the real levers of power in the country are in the hands of anyone you care to mention, only not those of the people's legally elected representative B.N. Yeltsin.

If, on the other hand, such things are being sanctioned by the president, it must be observed that we are living in God knows what state, but not a democracy, in which the activity of all the branches and institutions of power are strictly regulated by the law.

Incidentally, about the law. It would not hurt the Russian taxpayers to know by what legislative acts the activity of the Presidential Security Service, which presumably costs a lot of money, is regulated. And what issues come within this service's jurisdiction. And whether these acts stipulate in a separate paragraph the leader of the service's ability to shape the oil sector's strategy?

Unfortunately, up to this time all these questions remain no less a riddle than the name of the active participant in the events around "Most" —the legendary "masked man in the cashmere overcoat."

Filatov Notes 'Worsening' Chechnya Events

LD2312140594 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin Filatov recording] Unfortunately, events are developing in accordance with a scenario which has not been envisaged, but which has been imposed. And in this respect, of course, it has both very negative consequences and a negative significance,

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because it was of course necessary by any means to evade military confrontation, because tactically this played into the hands of Dudayev who, only in this situation—of a military conflict, and, even better, if Russia interferes in this conflict—becomes a national hero and attracts people to his side. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administraton. He spoke about the Chechen problem at a meeting held yesterday with our Television and Radio Company's own correspondents.

[Begin Filatov recording] But, on the other hand, it is difficult to convince me, for instance, that weapons can be seized simply by some simple talk. Domestic saturation with weapons always places a country on the brink of civil war. Therefore, it would undoubtedly be desirable to carry this out quickly. But this also depends on skill, on the weather, on the opposite side, and on the psychological mood. For the time being things are not operating in our favor, that is to say, not toward a resolution, but, on the contrary, toward a worsening.

On the other hand, we should not merely just be keeping the door open, but, on the contrary, we should also be meeting half-way in order to find, perhaps, a popular figure who could preside over meetings, consultations, and perhaps talks. Under no circumstances should this path be cut off, it must always operate. But, unfortunately, so far it has been operating in such a way that we have incurred very serious losses. [end recording]

Ministry Denies Rumors of Military Reshuffles

LD2212161794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1556 GMT 22 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Palariya]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Dec—There has been no confirmation, including from the Russian Defense Ministry, of the rumors that have been circulating during the day that the leadership of the North Caucasus Military District has been removed from conducting the military operation in the Chechen Republic.

Asked by the ITAR-TASS correspondent to comment on the reports that have appeared in the mass media about major reshuffles in the leadership of the operation, the Defense Ministry described them as "disinformation aimed at destabiizing the situation in the North Caucasus region."

No one from the district's leadership has been removed from participation in the operation to disarm the illegal armed formations on the territory of the Chechen Republic and they are all continuing to carry out the tasks they have been set, the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told in the Russian Defense Ministry.

Kondratyev 'Not Told To Resign'

LD2312124394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, December 23 (Interfax)—Russia's Deputy Defense Minister Colonel-General Georgiy Kondratyev said Friday [23 December] that no had ever told him to resign. Earlier, a number of media reports informed that Defense Minister Pavel Grachev had fired his deputy.

General Kondratyev told Interfax that the Chechen developments were not in his line of duty and that he was unable to explain the media reports.

Only Russian Commander-in-Chief President Yeltsin, who appointed him deputy defense minister, can relieve him of his duties, Kondratyev said.

Vorobev Resignation Not Accepted

LD2212183094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1741 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian Government has released the following information to ITAR-TASS today: In connection with reports appearing in the media on the resignation of Colonel General Eduard Vorobev, the first deputy commander of the land troops, the press center of the land troops informs that Vorobev had indeed filed a report to Col. Gen. Vladimir Semenov, the commander of the land troops, with a request to retire from the Armed Forces. However, the commander did not accept the report because he disagrees with the reasons and motives put forward in support of the request to retire.

Deputies Appeal to Yeltsin in Open Press

MM2312115594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Valeriy Yakov: "How Many More Children Must Die in Chechnya for Moscow To Heed Kovalev's Voice?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In yesterday's IZVESTIYA we quoted an open letter to the president from Sergey Kovalev, the Russian president's human rights commissioner. S. Kovalev had despaired of getting through to B. Yeltsin and was forced to pen an open letter in the hope that at least in this way he would be heeded. Judging by everything, B. Yeltsin learned of the letter and soon after signed his Appeal to the Chechen People, guaranteeing that the people were not threatened with deportation. At the same time, ground attack aircraft are continuing to bomb Groznyy.

S. Kovalev; State Duma Deputies V. Borshchev, M. Molostvov, and L. Petrovskiy; and O. Orlov, member of the "Memorial" Society Board, are currently living in Groznyy and experiencing the regular bombing raids

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along with the city residents. Kovalev is trying to make his voice heard in Moscow from Groznyy, and is calling events there a full-scale human tragedy, while special propagandists and—most striking of all—Mr. A. Kozyrev, citing Kovalev, are talking about the need to restore constitutional order.

Kovalev is calling on the president to stop the war, and news agencies and the television, clearly worried about Soskovets' reaction, are filing upbeat reports about additional combined units of troops heading toward Chechnya, which has, almost unnoticed, turned into an operational military test range.

Telephoning from Groznyy on the evening of 21 December, Sergey Kovalev, despairing that neither his voice nor his letter would actually reach the president and Russian citizens, conveyed for publication in IZVESTIYA an appeal to the world community. We are publishing this appeal, signed not only by S. Kovalev but also by the group of deputies, in full:

"We, members of the Russian Federation Human Rights Commissioner's delegation, have been in Groznyy since 15 December 1994 and, having studied the situation, we can testify that mass violations of human rights are taking place in Chechnya.

"According to international norms, the mass violation of human rights is not an internal affair for any state. Russia constantly adopts that position at international conferences, including the annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission.

"From that standpoint, the events taking place around Groznyy are no longer an internal matter for Russia. The basis of that claim is to be found in the numerous fatalities among the civilian population as a result of the hostilities and the bombing of residential areas of the city and the suburbs. Consequently, we are calling on the international community to pay the closest attention to the events in Chechnya as quickly as possible.

"We call on the governments of countries with an interest in the observance of human rights, on international organizations, and on the relevant organs of the United Nations, the CSCE, and the Council of Europe to immediately appeal to the Russian Government to stop the bombing of Groznyy and its suburbs.

"We state that the peaceful route of negotiations has still not been exhausted. We are drawing attention to the Russian leadership's sluggishness in holding talks and to the lack of any constructive Russian initiatives on this path. The Russian side's position has been excessively unbending [ultimativnyy], and, consequently, you get the impression that it is aimed more at avoiding actual talks—pinning the blame for their collapse on the other side—than at achieving a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile the position of the Chechen leaders was by no means constructive and was not conducive to a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

"We understand the full complexity of the problems which will have to be resolved in the talks and, nonetheless, we believe that the opportunities for a peaceful settlement have not been exhausted.

"We are appealing to the world's public to use all their influence to ensure that talks are urgently resumed, that the troops are halted in their positions, that the shooting stops, and that hospitals in Groznyy obtain the medicines they urgently need.

"From our standpoint, if such talks are resumed at a level commensurate with the gravity of the situation, the position could yet be rectified."

Immediately after this appeal we received a telemessage from S. Kovalev addressed to N. Yegorov, the government's senior official on Chechnya. Learning that the Russian authorities had "humanely" warned journalists in Groznyy to leave the "Kavkaz" Hotel—which Moscow military leaders intend to bomb—Sergey Kovalev told N. Yegorov: "I consider it my duty to warn you that the planned attack will inevitably lead to major civilian casualties, since there are large numbers of multistory apartment blocks near the hotel. What guarantees can the command give that this residential area will not be destroyed during the bombing? For instance, four dead and three severely injured children were taken to the Groznyy Children's Hospital after a strategic target was bombed. If there are no guarantees, do you realize that responsibility for the inevitable civilian deaths as a result of the bombing of the 'Kavkaz' Hotel will lie with you?"

Mr. Yegorov has not replied.

Official Has 'No Information' on Volunteers

LD2212170294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 22 Dec 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 22 (Interfax)—The Russian Foreign Ministry does not have official information to the effect that "Turkey or any other state" sent its "volunteers" to Chechnya. The statement was made for Interfax at a briefing in Moscow on Thursday [22 December] by First Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov.

He said that Moscow would take "all necessary measures if it obtains such information".

He said that there is a need "to differentiate between the official state activities and the activities of individuals and even organizations". The latter, he said, "may be a provocation in character, but it should not affect the inter-state relations."

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Ivanov said that the recent statements on Bosnia and Chechnya on the part of some Moslem states "are not the beginning of confrontation between Russia and the Islamic world".

"We acknowledge the role played by the Moslem world and are interested in developing good relations with it," said the diplomat.

He said that Russia will resolutely rebuff all attempts to cause Russia to quarrel with countries of the Moslem world. "Naturally, there may be certain differences on some problems. This, however, does not mean the aggravation of relations," said Ivanov.

He said that "CIS states have shown understanding to Russia's intention to halt the movement to Chechnya of individuals or groups of people."

Economic Issues

Filatov Discusses 'Positive Developments'

LD2212204194 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On Thursday [22 December], Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, met with the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company's own correspondents. Touching on the situation in the country's economy he said in particular: [Begin Filatov recording] We are now close to the point, the 1995-1996 period, where inflation can be realistically curbed, and, through inflation, all subsequent questions resolved—above all taxation policy and investment policy, because the funds are emerging which could be used for the positive development of the country's economy. Therefore the tactics and strategy for 1995-1996 were chosen in a way to offer the maximum opportunity for economic processes to develop efficiently and the inflation process to be eliminated, above all, and meanwhile to get investments to start working, which makes it possible subsequently to start production growth, the most important indicator which should provide a normal development for our country. We were guided by this when Boris Nikolayevich launched the "public accord" initiative because even spurring this on afforded, to a considerable extent, an opportunity to concentrate efforts as much as possible on economic problems and resolve them. [end recording]

Federal Assembly

Duma Urges Moratorium on Chechnya

LD2312095594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0925 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Dec—The decision to draw up an appeal to the Russian Federation president containing a request for a moratorium on the conducting of military operations in Chechnya was adopted by the deputies of the State Duma today. Two hundred and fifty-seven parliamentarians voted for the proposal, which was submitted by Alevtina Aparina, a deputy from the Russian Federation Communist Party faction.

In this connection, Ivan Rybkin, speaker of the chamber, charged the Duma committees for security, defense, legislation, geopolicy, and CIS affairs to draw up the relevant decision of the State Duma so that the deputies could discuss it this evening.

Besides this, the parliamentarians have supported yet another proposal from Alevtina Aparina—to invite the heads of the power structures to speak at their Government Hour at the Duma today and to inform the deputies about the situation in Chechnya.

Duma Deputy Fails With Yeltsin Confidence Vote Bid

LD2312100894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0922 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Dec—The State Duma has refused to examine a motion of confidence in the president, which was insisted upon today at the plenary sitting of the chamber by deputy Yuliy Rybakov of the "Russia's Choice" faction in connection with Boris Yeltsin's actions regarding the situation in Chechnya.

The "Russia's Choice" faction immediately distanced itself from Yuliy Rybakov's motion. "We ask that this proposal be examined as being his individual motion," its deputy chairman, Boris Zolotukhin, pointed out.

First deputy chairman of the State Duma Mikhail Mityukov explained that, in accordance with Duma regulations, a motion of confidence in the president can be included in the agenda only after one third of signatures of the entire composition of the chamber has been collected in support of this proposal.

Duma Adopts Draft Law on 1995 Federal Budget

LD2312105894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Dec— The State Duma today adopted the draft law on the federal budget for 1995 in its first reading. This means that the lower chamber of parliament has approved the concept of the socioeconomic development of the country in the coming year as proposed by the government.

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MVD Commander on Chechnya Mission, Criticisms

MM2312114194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with Lieutenant-General Stanislav Kavun, deputy commander of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops, by Pavel Anokhin; place, date not given: "Our Aim Is To Disarm the Armed Bandits"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Anokhin] Stanislav Fedorovich, it is 10 days since the start of the military action in Chechnya. Can you share your initial impressions? Incidentally, what would you call it: a war, aggression, suppression of a rebellion or separatist movement?

[Kavun] I would describe it as a case of establishing basic order and disarming the armed formations that have been running amok in the republic. Unfortunately, the operation has had initial problems. On the one hand, nationalist propaganda played a part by bringing people onto the streets. On the other hand, Russian soldiers are constrained by certain restrictions on the active use of weapons. It was this situation that contributed to the large number of deaths in the initial days.

[Anokhin] But many describe this, and the slow progress of regular armed subunits toward Groznyy, in terms of the poor combat capability of the Russian soldiers. Some "strategists" believe that they should have launched an airborne assault on Groznyy and, with the arrest of Dzhokhar Dudayev, the situation would have been defused in 3-4 days.

[Kavun] Don't forget one subtle fact: The Chechens are Russians. If forces had been employed against a foreign aggressor, all categories of the Russian Armed Forces would have been fully used. But in Chechnya everything has to be done in such a way that as few civilians as possible suffer. Our aim is to disarm the armed bandits or destroy them, and not to fight Chechens. Therefore the Russian forces have to display restraint and composure when using their weapons.

[Anokhin] But journalists' accounts are full of reports about dead and wounded civilians and about destroyed and burning houses.

[Kavun] Unfortunately, the Chechen "commanders" are setting up their weapon emplacements near houses, using them as camouflage. They often use women and children too as cover.

[Anokhin] Some politicians believe that the armed action was premature and there was still a chance of a peaceful solution of the problem.

[Kavun] I am actually surprised at the position taken by many politicians. For three years they have called for determination in eliminating Dzhokhar Dudayev's criminal regime, and now they are acting in a duplicitous manner. The impression is that they are afraid that certain compromising facts may emerge with the establishment of law and order in Chechnya. They cannot see state interests for their own political ambitions and personal interests and they refuse to see that we have reached the point where Russia will start to break up.

[Anokhin] But the same politicians claim that the action itself marks the start of the breakup of Russia.

[Kavun] They are profoundly mistaken. The state is using all available means of preserving its integrity. World experience demonstrates this.

Our government and president hesitated for too long. Obviously, they were frightened of talking, of making diplomatic moves. In my view, if we had tackled the matter earlier, we would not have had to act so radically now.

[Anokhin] Are you not frightened that the Russian forces' actions will consolidate the Chechens and guerrilla warfare will break out?

[Kavun] Of course, the taking of Groznyy will not be immediately followed by total calm—there are too many weapons there. But there will not be a full-scale guerrilla war either. It is from Moscow that Chechnya appears to be monolithically united. In fact, the different clans and groupings have very different interests. Moreover, their many showdowns have actuated the blood feud mechanism. Not for nothing do many Chechens look kindly on us.

Press Center on MVD Operations

LD2312130994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1227 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok December 23 TASS—Over the past twenty four hours Russian interior troops continued operations to disarm illegal armed formations on the Chechen territory. The Mozdok-based press centre of the Russian interior troops reported that two tanks, eight armoured carriers, a "Shilka" launching installation, a self-propelled air defence gun, about 3,000 pieces of ammunition, a hand anti-tank grenade launcher and 17 shooting rifles were confiscated in the Nadterechny region which until recently, had been controlled by the opposition.

The press center reported that the population of this region is prepared to voluntarily surrender shooting rifles only after Russian troops take Groznyy under control. It was reported that Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters possess movable firearms stationed in densely populated areas and which are moved to other positions after being shelled by Russian units.

The press centre reported that in the period between December 11-22, 20 Russian servicemen were killed or

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died of wounds, and 30 others were injured. Some military hardware and ammunition were reported to have been destroyed.

The fate of 20 hostages taken prisoner in the area of Khasavryut (Daghestan) on December 11 is not known.

Unofficial reports said that last night Dudayev's supporters shelled Russian units from the settlement of Argun. Following the shelling, the aviation made an air strike in retaliation targeted at armed formations.

Over the past twenty four hours casualties have been reported among Russian troops deployed in Chechnya. However, no official reports of the number of casualties are available in Mozdok.

'Massive Bombardment' Continues in Groznyy

MM2312160394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Massive Bombardment. Yeltsin Preparing Political Settlement Plan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the morning of 23 December Russian planes continued their missile and bomb strikes against Groznyy, INTERFAX has reported. The massive bombardment of Groznyy began at 0500 hours Thursday [22 December]. REUTER reports from Groznyy that high-altitude missile and bomb strikes are being made by planes flying above cloud height.

Cynthia Elbaum, an American photojournalist, perished in Groznyy Thursday.

A delegation of the Russian human rights commissioner carried out a spot check on civilian and military hospitals and emergency medical centers in Groznyy as a result of which it was established that in the period 12 through 21 December 45 civilians from Groznyy had died in the city as a result of shelling. As the Russian Federation Government Press Service reports, between the start of combat actions and 23 December 24 Defense Ministry servicemen and 20 MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops had died. There were 116 wounded.

According to information from Dudayev's headquarters, the line of contact between the Russian troops and Dudayev's subunits now runs through the population centers of Yermolovka (in the western sector, 15 km from Groznyy), Dolinskoye (northwestern sector, 20 km from Groznyy), and Argun (eastern sector, 10 km from Groznyy).

Russian President Boris Yeltsin intends to address Russian citizens "in the next few days" to set out his assessment of the events in Chechnya as well as the plans for a settlement of the conflict using political methods first and foremost. This is what it says in the letter that the head of state sent to State Duma deputies 22 December.

Attack Leaves U.S. Journalist Killed

LD2212142694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1320 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy (UNIAN correspondent Volodymyr Dolin)—At 1200 on 22 December the center of Groznyy suffered a massive rocket and bomb strike, killing six and wounding three, all of them civilians. A U.S. woman journalist was killed. There are dozens of casualties throughout the city. Six cars were destroyed and a truck set ablaze in one of the city's districts.

The journalists in Groznyy have appealed to the UN and CSCE. The document states, in particular: "We protest against the Russian army's inhuman actions. We are witnessing the death of women, the elderly and children. Our colleague, an American journalist, was killed today. We demand that the Russian government end genocide. The killing of civilians for the sake of preserving 'territorial integrity' and safeguarding 'human rights' is impermissible".

Press Service Official Receives Threats

LD2012135794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 20 Dec 94

[Report by Vladimir Pasko from Russian government press center]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] I'll just report one piece of information which has just come in from Groznyy. Chechen fighters are threatening to move to total terror. It has just been announced at a meeting in the center of Groznyy that Valentin Sergeyev, head of the Russian government press service, has been condemned to death. As evidence of the seriousness of the intention, the address of the Sergeyev family home and his office and home telephone numbers were announced.

Those at the rally have regularly voiced their thanks to journalists in Groznyy, including Russian journalists, and call on on Chechens living in Moscow to take note of all those who come out against Dudayev.

Problems Continue For Defense Ministry

MK2312095194 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[Nikolay Vishnevskiy report in the "Army" column under general headline: "Yet Another Russian General Has Resigned. Groznyy Residents Still Die Under Bombs."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Col. Gen. Eduard Vorobev, first deputy commander of the Russian Ground Forces, has tendered his resignation in response to a proposal that he lead the military operation in the Chechen Republic. This was announced yesterday by state Duma Defense Committee Chairman Sergey Yushenkov who had received this information personally from the general.

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Eduard Vorobev has extensive experience in conducting various peacekeeping operation on CIS territory, in particular in the Dniester region. He directed first Russian-U.S. military exercises at the Totsk test ground. There are reports that from 17 to 21 December Col. Gen. Vorobev was in the zone of Russian army operations in Chechnya. This is why experts believe that his decision can hardly be regarded as being made on the spur of the moment.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA failed to receive confirmation of the resignation offer: The telephones of the Defense Ministry Press Service, the Ground Force Command, and Eduard Vorobev's office were silent. Nor is it known whether his resignation has been accepted. However, according to indirect information from high military circles, many military commanders have from the start considered participation by the Armed Forces in the Chechen events inexpedient, and express concern over "dragging the army into an internal political conflict." According to them, this decision was made at the top political level, and the defense minister thought it necessary to obey unquestioningly. The Defense Ministry and the General Staff did not undertake a proper analysis of the situation or preparations for action. As a result, the Defense Ministry forces found themselves in Chechnya without clearly formulated tasks, only with the "general concept:" to take part in disarming "illegal armed formations" and "give support" in this mission to Internal Affairs Ministry units.

Until recently, sources say, the storming of Groznyy was not part of the "general concept" because it does not address the question of "disarmament:" Dudayev's forces will simply go into the mountains and wage guerrilla warfare. In that event a powerful Army and Internal Affairs Ministry contingent will have to be kept in Chechnya—without adequate supplies, and placing an additional strain on the federal budget. The army will be confronted with the need to use tough measures against the "guerrillas"—effectively part of the population of their own country. And this, experts believe, will lead "nowhere."

It is not ruled out that at the present "post-negotiations" stage Defense Ministry forces (airborne troops, special forces, or assault brigades) may be ordered to seize Dzhokhar Dudayev and his fighting men by force. With such a turn of events, sources said, nobody will want to get involved in a "noisy court trial," and in the end an official report will be officially circulated: "While making an attempt to escape (or break out), the Dudayev group was wiped out in a fire fight...."

Government on Dudayev's Growing Problems

LD2212144294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Government's press service has reported that according to reports from Groznyy, sharp displeasure with Dudayev's rejection of talks with the Russian leadership, which have been offered to him more than once, is growing among Dudayev's entourage. He is blamed not only for the poor state of the economy and the poverty of the people, but also for personal profits made by supporting drug deals and oil sales by criminal structures. The elders of many clans accused the Groznyy leadership of eliminating 20,000 people disliked by the regime over the last two and a half years.

Dudayev Blames West For 'Non-Interference'

LD2012221294 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2052 GMT 20 Dec 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] International opinion about the conflict in Chechnya is coming down in Russia's favor, and this is clearly not to the liking of Dzhokhar Dudayev.

Dudayev's latest news conference was important for understanding Dudayev's tactics.

[Begin Dudayev recording] I blame Clinton, Major, Mitterrand, and Kohl who bear responsibility. If this policy of satanism continues, Russia will be condemning itself to death by its own hands. [end recording]

Dudayev is unhappy about the non-interference of the leading Western states for a number of reasons. He thought that since they support the Moslems in Bosnia against the Orthodox Serbs out of fear of losing influence in the Moslem world, then in the case of Chechnya their position could be firmer.

The introduction of Russian troops into Chechnya on 10 December coincided with another important event. A summit of Moslem countries took place in the Moroccan city of Casablanca. Undoubtedly Dudayev expected an appropriate statement from his brothers-in-faith. However, this did not happen. Nonetheless, after the end of the Casablanca conference, a number of Islamic countries made statements on the Chechen problem. These were Libya, Iran, and Saudi Arabia.

[Begin recording] [Sergey Gryzunov, chairman of the Russian Press Committee] We have no grounds, on the basis of an analysis of the statements made up to now, to say that Dudayev will receive any material or moral support from the Moslem countries. Undoubtedly, some people will be found who will use some populist statements or actions to try to win points but I think there will be very few of them. [end recording]

Moscow has offered talks but without any conditions from Groznyy. And the essence of the talks is the disarming of the illegal armed formations, as should be done if Groznyy considers Chechnya to be part of Russia with its laws and constitution.

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Dudayev has chosen the tactic of partisan warfare to a large extent to drag out the conflict as much as possible and to try to influence the position of the world community.

[Begin recording] [Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev] The border has absolutely nothing to do with this. This is totally a matter of maintaining legality inside the country. [end recording]

Urges Fight Against 'Satanic' Russia

LD2212193494 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Chechnya's President Dudayev, speaking on republican television, said that it is better to die with honor in accordance with the laws of a holy war than to enter into slavery. At the same time, he called on all fellow believers to fight against, and I quote, the satanic methods of Russia.

Cites Clinton's 'Silent Consent'

LD2212183294 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy (IPRINDA)—An Iprinda correspondent reports that Russian aircraft bombed residential districts of Groznyy last night, causing damage and casualties among civilians.

Early today, Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev appealed to the world community and to the leaders of the Western states, calling on them to exert pressure on Russia to stop bombing Chechnya's territory. Dudayev said that with Clinton's silent consent, Russia continues to carry out rocket and bomb attacks, causing deaths among the civilians. In Dudayev's words, since the beginning of the combat activities, the Chechen authorities have repeatedly appealed to the Russian Government to start negotiations. However, the leadership of the Russian Federation has ignored Chechnya's proposals.

Chechen Parliament Chair Proposes Talks

LD2312152494 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Akhyad Idigov, chairman of the Chechen parliament, is proposing to start talks with Russia immediately on the basis of already prepared documents on delegating authority between the Russian federal authorities and Chechnya. The relevant telegram was sent to Ramazan Abdulatipov, deputy speaker of the Federation Council. Our radio station has learned that Makhachkala [capital of Dagestan] is being suggested as one possible location for the talks.

Presidential Palace Takes Bomb Attack

LD2312030994 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0200 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The bombing of the Chechen capital by Russian aviation has not stopped since yesterday evening, Mikhail Molostvov, a [Russia's Choice] State Duma deputy who is in Groznyy, told our radio station.

Around half an hour ago, bombs exploded in the immediate vicinity of the presidential palace, Chechen Vice President Zemlikan Yandarbiyev told us.

'Vice President' on Damage

LD2312043894 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0300 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Around 0400 [0100 GMT], missile and bombing strikes were delivered on the central rayon where the presidential palace is situated. Chechen Vice President Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev told us that the building suffered insignificant damage.

Yesterday, let me remind you, representatives of the Russian Government claimed that the night bombing raids on Groznyy had stopped and that the explosions in the town were initiated by Dzhokhar Dudayev himself.

That is a blatant lie, and if we remain alive, I will demand publicly, to the whole world, that these insolent fellows are punished immediately and most severely, Sergey Kovalev, Russia's human rights plenipotentiary, told the Postfaktum agency in Groznyy.

Today, memorial and other human rights organizations of Russia will picket the State Duma building in Okhotnyy Ryad in the morning. The aim of the picket is to force the deputies to adopt a decision on Chechnya.

Chechen Parliament Appeals for 'Human Chain'

LD2012135394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1300 GMT 20 Dec 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today at noon, in response to the appeal by the Chechen parliament, hundreds of residents of North Caucasus towns and villages formed a human chain for many miles on the Groznyy-Makhachkala section of the Baku-Rostov highway. The participants of the action are thereby trying to express their protest against military actions carried out by the Russian Army on Chechen territory. In this connection, Dzhokhar Dudayev has ordered his supporters to stop actions on this section of the highway.

Migration Service Notes Refugee Details

LD2312153894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0848 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Liliya Kuznetsova]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Dec—The number of people forced to move out of the Chechen Republic, and registered by the migration service, yesterday reached 21,784. The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned this from the press service of the Russian Federal Migration Service.

During the first few days of the conflict up to 500-700 people were arriving in regions adjacent to Chechnya every day, but in the last 24 hours only 172 people forced to move out have applied to the migration service for help. Specialists from the Russian Federal Migration Service note that the complicated nature of the situation has affected the flow of refugees: The majority are forced to escape from the conflict area on foot.

According to data from the Federal Migration Service, there are at present over 12,000 forced resettlers in Ingushetia, about 7,000 in Dagestan, and about 1,500 in Stavropol kray. There is an insignificant number of refugees in rayons of North Ossetia, Krasnodar kray, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, and Kabardino-Balkaria.

Chechen Notes Use of Cluster Bombs

JN2312085794 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 23 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Amman—Shamsedin Yusef, foreign minister of the Chechen Republic, has said that seven Chechen deputies were killed yesterday in a Russian air raid against the Parliament building in the capital, Groznyy.

In a telephone conversation with the Jordanian Committee for Supporting the Chechen Republic, which the committee published yesterday, Shamsedin Yusef said that the Russian troops used the internationally-prohibited cluster bombs in its bombardment of the civilian areas in the Chechen Republic.

Source on Chechen Use of 'Special Bullets'

LD2312100994 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dudayev's fighters are using weapons and ammunition in battle that are causing injuries which many military doctors have never encountered, an RIA Novosti correspondent was told by a medical services major who preferred to remain anonymous, working in Mozdok. He said these are weapons, in particular bullets with a displaced center of gravity, that cause limbs to be torn off and fatal multiple injuries. Although there are no reports of official data of losses since the troops entered Chechnya, according to RIA's information the number of gravely wounded is already in excess of 200, and the number of dead is close to 60.

Kozyrev Speaks on Mercenary Problem

LD2212203094

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1840 GMT on 22 December broadcasts a 16-minute edition of the "Moscow, Kremlin" current affairs program beginning with pre-recorded comment on the Chechen conflict by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Civil Defense, Emergencies and Natural Disasters Minister Sergey Shoygu. The second half of the program features Foreign Economic Relations Minister Oleg Davydov calling for greater export opportunities in the world market for Russian goods.

Kozyrev speaks about Russia's temporary closure of its borders with Azerbaijan and Georgia. He says: "The closure of the borders or, to be more precise, the restriction of movement across the borders, is one means of blocking the flow of mercenaries and criminal elements of various kinds both into Chechnya and out of Chechnya. But as regards mercenaries, well, we do indeed have information that they are arriving from certain countries. We are in permanent contact with the governments. We are making representations to them on this matter. But, as a rule, the reply we are receiving so far is roughly similar to that which we give when certain states turn to us and tell us that Russian mercenaries are involved in a conflict, for instance in Abkhazia.

"Yes, this really is a major problem. The government is dealing with it. We want the Duma, in principle the parliament, to adopt an appropriate law on banning and punishing mercenary activity. But the difficulty here is that it is very hard to catch a mercenary. For instance, mercenaries, as a rule, cross borders unarmed. So how do you prove that he is coming here to fight and not to admire the scenery? Do you understand what I mean? He could come as an ordinary tourist or as someone on private business. In a word, there is a problem. We are discussing it with neighboring states. But it is extraordinarily difficult to solve it because a mercenary is like, is like a slug. He cannot be caught."

Shoygu speaks about emergency measures to care for refugees from Chechnya and about the importance of good cooperation between the interior and emergencies ministries. He also expressed sympathy for Russian soldiers serving in Chechnya and other dangerous areas of the former Soviet Union.

Davydov says he believes that, on the whole, foreign countries regard Chechnya as Russia's internal affair. He then goes on to call for better export opportunities.

Duma Advises Against Chechnya 'Interference'

LD2212152894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1425 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 22 (Interfax)—On proposal of Andrey Dorovskikh (Liberal-Democratic Party) and in light of the Chechen developments, the State Duma passed a decision to advise the former Soviet republics against interference in the internal affairs of the Russian Federation.

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Dorovskikh backed Vladimir Shumeyko, speaker of the Federation Council, who accused Abkhaz nationals of actively supporting the Dudayev Administration. In turn, Ivan Rybkin, speaker of the State Duma, called Ukrainian and Baltic aid to the Dudayev Administration "inadmissible."

The leader of the National Republican Party Nikolay Lysenko demanded that Tatiyana Regent, chief of the Federal Migration Service, report Friday on the Russian exodus from Chechnya. He insisted that the State Duma hear a report from Russia's Human Rights Commissioner Sergey Kovalev who is presently staying in Groznyy. According to Lysenko, Kovalev, whose "Neanderthal form of rusophobia strips him of his right to remain in office," has turned into "a mouthpiece of the Dudayev Administration".

Igor Lukashev (Yabloko) expressed indignation that some lawmakers take the floor to foment inter-ethnic strife.

Rybkin agreed that "there is too much talk of ethnic Russians and non-Russians" and suggested that the lawmakers refrain from displays of the "Russian superiority complex."

Yegorov Denies Cossack Involvement in Chechnya

LD2212141994 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1345 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The temporary information centre has received a statement from the press service of Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Yegorov, the president's plenipotentiary representative in the Chechen Republic. Some of the mass media have recently been spreading rumors about the military units of Russia's Cossack organizations getting involved in operations to disarm illegal armed formations on the territory of the Chechen Republic. In connection with this, Nikolay Yegorov's press service believes it is necessary to state that no Cossack troops are involved in any way in resolving the conflict on the territory of Chechnya, nor will they be, because this contravenes the constitutional norms of the Russian Federation.

Leshchev: Far East 'Sent No One to Chechnya'

OW2312012894 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0615 GMT 21 Dec 94

[V. Voropayev video report; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The distance between the Caucasus and the Far East does not lessen the anxiety for Russian soldiers, who are under orders and the military oath. People have different opinions on the appropriateness of politicians' decisions, but it is still a fact that the blood of Russian citizens has been spilled, and not in remote Afghanistan or sovereign Tajikistan, but within the borders of the Russian Federation itself. It is only natural that the background of the Chechnya events has produced a lot of rumors that the troops of the Far East military district have gone on battle readiness. [Interview with Colonel T. Leshchev, Far East Military District Press Center Chief.]

[Begin Leshchev recording] I have to state with full confidence that the Far East Military District has sent no one to Chechnya, and that there have been no orders to this effect. It is possible that these rumors and stories were started by the fact that the district brigade of radioactive, chemical, and biological defense went on heightened readiness. It is not inconceivable that some subunits of this brigade might be sent to Chechnya. But for what purpose? It is well known that Chechnya is an explosive region, in the sense that it is full of petroleum producing facilities and petroleum and gas pipelines. If something happens there and something goes boom, the consequences will have to be eliminated. This brigade is designated precisely for such events. [end recording]

This is the official version—there have been no orders to send Far East soldiers to Chechnya. But can one guarantee that there will be no such order in the future ?

Abkhazia Denies Training Chechnya Fighters

LD2312093794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0851 GMT 23 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—Abkhazia has no military bases for training militants for Chechnya, Abkhazian president Vladislav Ardzinba said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today. According to Ardzinba, Abkhazian authorities did not send anyone to fight in Chechnya.

Ardzinba said Russian officials might come to Abkhazia to make sure that it had no training bases.

The Abkhazian president said his letter to Boris Yeltsin of December 9, 1994 laid out the Abkhazian leadership's stance on Chechnya, which is the need for peaceful settlement. The stance remains unaltered, Ardzinba said.

Republics Voice Opinion on Chechnya

LD2312102694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0953 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—A number of Russian republics turned out to be against the use of force in Chechnya.

The provisional information centre for Chechnya issued a release late on Thursday in which it said that "The National Assembly of the Republic of Buryatia believes that the developments in the Chechen Republic threaten the integrity of Russia and create additional barriers on the way of stabilising the economy". However, Buryatia believes that it necessary "to hold a "personal dialogue

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between the Russian president and the Chechen leadership" in order to conclude share-power agreements. [quotation marks as received]

The parliament of the northern republic of Karelia "denounces the involvement of the army in the solution of internal problems of the Russian state", the provisional centre said adding that the republican authorities also complained about a lack of reliable information on Caucasian developments.

"The National Council of the (north Caucasian) Karachayevo- Cherkessian Republic calls on the Russian leadership to refrain from using force in Chechnya and to solve the problem exclusively through negotiations", the provisional information centre said.

"The State Council of the Republic of Chuvashia believes it inadmissible to use the Russian Army in conflicts against civilian population and resort to power methods for restoring constitutional lawfulness in Chechnya", the provisional centre said adding that the council urged to withdraw Russian troops from Chechnya and solve the problem by talks.

However, the use of force was backed by the governor of the Chelyabinsk region in the Urals. "The introduction of Russian troops in Chechnya is at present the only measure capable of averting a civil war in Chechnya, protect the constitutional rights and freedoms of Russian citizens", the information centre said.

It also quoted a "reform committee" in the northern city of Murmansk as saying that "the government has the right and must adopt all necessary measures to support order in the country and ensure its integrity".

Bashkiria Urges Yeltsin, Dudayev To Talk

LD2312103594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0929 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 23 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Bashkiria's Supreme Soviet sent a message to Boris Yeltsin and Dzhokhar Dudayev today, calling on them to halt military operations and sit down at the negotiating table.

In an appeal, the official text of which was handed over to ITAR- TASS by the press service of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Bashkortostan, the republic's parliament calls on Boris Yeltsin and Dzhokhar Dudayev "to display the wisdom of statesmen and immediately undertake steps aimed at a nonviolent political settlement of contentious issues."

"We believe that talks at the highest level and the adoption of the necessary treaties and agreements is the best method of resolving the conflict," the appeal states. "Here the experience of concluding the treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bashkortostan could prove useful." [passage omitted]

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International Affairs

Budapest Minority Office Official Visits

95CH0058A Uzhhorod KARPATI IGAZ SZO in Hungarian 15 Nov 94 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Dr. Erika Torzsok, deputy director of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, by Bela Szabo in Berehove; date not given]

[Text] *Dr. Erika Torzsok, deputy director of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, recently visited Beregszasz [Berehove]. She came with the delegation which brought books as a gift to the local Hungarian college from the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] faction of the Budapest District 11 local government. We took this opportunity to ask her for an interview for the KARPATI IGAZ SZO, regarding issues that also involve Hungarians living in Karpatalja [Subcarpathia].*

[Szabo] We know that there are new faces among the leadership of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, including you. Were there any other changes or has the political line of the HTMH [Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders] been modified?

[Torzsok] The structure of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders was developed during the past four years. At present, there are four main regional departments, proportionately sized to the distribution of the current Hungarian population beyond the borders: the Romanian Department, the Delvidek [Southern country] Department, the Felvidek [Upper country] Department, and the Karpatalja Department in one group, together with the Main Department of Western Hungarians.

After the 1994 elections, we separated the Press Department and Control Department which until then constituted one department, and we also created a Main Department of Economic Cooperation and Development. In addition, we also have a Main Department of Coordination and a Main Department of Legal Affairs.

[Szabo] In view of the fact that there are government agencies and ministries which deal with economic cooperation, why did the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders take that responsibility, too, upon itself?

[Torzsok] Those who during the past four years have followed the lot of minorities living in the Carpathian Basin must have recognized that only economically independent minorities are capable of creating and running their own institutions.

It is important and natural that the Hungarian Constitution mandates the given government to be committed to the [Hungarian] minorities. The areas of this [mandate] must be redefined, i.e., areas of support must be separated from areas of cooperation. Those areas which can only depend on support from Hungary must also be separated from the others. These areas must be clearly separated in order to eliminate the bad feeling of everyone thinking that the other person gets everything, and to eliminate the feeling of dependence as well.

Actually, there are three main areas of minority work. One is, traditionally, education. In this area, too, there have been certain changes. Wherever possible, we would like to implement the government policy that conditions for livelihood must be created in the given regions. In the future this will mean that we will want to award most of the stipends in the given regions. This way will be more efficient and will make it more probable that most intellectuals will not leave home.

[Szabo] Does this mean that fewer people will study in Hungary?

[Torzsok] There are two parts to this question. Everyone has the human right to choose where to live and where to study. The emphasis will change in the kind of support one will receive. The Hungarian Government intends to provide stipends for study mainly at local institutions. This involves not only students but also faculty in order to avoid a brain drain, an intellectual colonization, so that a teacher will not have to go to Nyiregyhaza or Debrecen to teach in order to make ends meet.

Another large area of minority work is culture and information. Beginning in 1990, a great change took place in this area, for the region can now get connected to, and use the results of, the information system which emerged throughout the world during the 1970's. What freedom of the press means today is that one can get connected to the international network through electronic media practically within seconds and one can use sources for news, and thus a region does not have to be isolated and provincial anymore, even though the crossing of borders is still rather problematic. Obviously, we must pay attention to this second large area, differentiating between things that must be created through local resources and things in which the Hungarian Government can offer help to the given minority.

The third large area which I think has been completely neglected during the past four years is the possibilities inherent in economic cooperation. In Hungary, just as in the neighboring countries, the process of privatization and economic restructuring began only in the last few years. We think there are great opportunities in this area where a completely new structure of ownership must be developed, and we think it is imperative that the Hungarian minorities not be left out [of this process]. Unfortunately, there is a penchant for discrimination in the neighboring states to begin with and, to offset this, we must find possibilities for cooperation and resources which would actually bring the minorities beyond the borders up to par with the majorities living there.

These are then the three large areas. And, as I mentioned, even within these areas, we differentiate between support that is based on an absolutely non-profit principle, and cooperation in which things happen through mutual

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responsibilities and risks. There are situations where it would be the responsibility of a given country to maintain and operate institutions, because the Hungarian minorities are also tax paying citizens, but the economic situation in these countries is well known and, unfortunately—because of a lack of political will and because of habitual attitudes that developed during the past decades—there are often shortcomings of such magnitude that the given Hungarian government should be compelled to take action so that the resources are directed there in order to preserve the identity of the minority living there. This means, then, that the level of the past four years must be maintained and much more efficient ways of using the resources must be found—in cooperation with the minorities, of course.

Thus, in the future we do not wish to interfere with political conflicts and internal strife which were, unfortunately, characteristic of recent times but instead would like to concentrate on the [aforementioned] areas. By the way, it was natural for events to lead this way because even if one is part of a minority, one also has political identities.

[Szabo] In connection with this, I want to ask you what your opinion is on the divisiveness that is apparent among the Hungarian minorities of Karpatalja or—perhaps I can say without exaggerating—the entire Carpathian Basin? What is this? Is it resistance or a natural process?

[Torzsok] I think that we must look at it as a natural process even if it entails much anomaly and antagonism, because the manifestation of political identities is a natural part of political culture. At the same time, our political culture is, unfortunately, in a state in which we are able to formulate this political identity by and large only for ourselves, and this is where the problems begin. I think that we must concentrate on finding some answers to the great challenges, the future of Karpatalja Hungarians; we must concentrate on finding the answers to what institutions we need for fostering this culture, and what a person who wants to remain a full-fledged member of the region needs in order to be able to use his native language and to preserve his complete identity. If we concentrate on finding answers to these questions, then there will be less boasting and less antagonism because people then will be occupied by their everyday work DD perhaps even if they do not have to struggle so hard anymore for a livelihood as they had to in recent years. This is, after all, a natural thing, and we can see even in western societies the large number of associations and cultural establishments, which contribute to the true wealth of society. Of course, we must exert a positive influence on the majority of the given state for them to view the existence of minorities as a natural thing that enriches the region instead of being suspicious about these activities.

[Szabo] It was said at the last general meeting of the KMKSZ [Cultural Federation of Subcarpathian Hungarians] that certain political circles in Hungary interfere with the internal affairs of Karpatalja Hungarians, thereby promoting disunity; the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders was also criticized, and one of the speakers accused chairman Csaba Tabajdi of playing a double game... In other words, some people claim that Hungary is also guilty for the disunity within the KMKSZ and the resulting emergence of several other organizations...

[Torzsok] Actually, I have already answered that in the foregoing, for I think that pluralization within a minority society is actually a natural phenomenon. Those who differ are either paranoid or spiteful. I think that everyone can find a task here, and it would be good if everyone would find the way in which they want to carry out these tasks. I believe that in this region a way must be found for this diversity to work. At the same time, there are situations, of course—e.g., in the case of an election—in which the different political forces should not be at each other's throat but should form a coalition, not against but for something.

[Szabo] Most often, the cause for debate is financing, i.e., the support offered to the minorities by the Hungarian government... You stated earlier in the UJ SZO of Pozsony (also reviewed in the KARPATI IGAZ SZO) that the old system of support was not entirely appropriate. What changes can be expected in this area? Or, putting it differently, does the HTMH see any solution which would not elicit antagonism between the various Hungarian minority organizations?

[Torzsok] Karpatalja is an entirely unique situation. Hungarians living there cannot expect any outside resources. The economic situation here is well known; people's incomes are the lowest in the entire region, their average wages are even lower than the wages of Hungarians living in Romania, goods are not as readily available, and inflation is the highest here. Obviously, the Hungarian government cannot solve the Karpatalja Hungarian community's everyday problems.

[Szabo] Of course...

[Torzsok] However, ways must be found for the minority to be able to operate its own institutions. By year's end the minority policy, and the allocation and operation of the resources must be redefined. One of the basic requirements is to make it possible for everyone to submit their application, which should clarify their ideas, and to provide clear projects—on a mutual basis, of course. Because those who live here know best in what areas the shoe pinches—if I may put it this way. Thus, in the near future we must deal with the processes that have already been started, e.g., with Beregszasz College [BC] which, unfortunately, raises many open questions. Although BC has been formally opened, some political tasks remain, namely, it must be placed in the Ukrainian education system, government approval and support must be secured, and it must be legally registered. This is the only way to guarantee BC's long-term future. Many things are needed until BC becomes a real cultural center

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instead of merely an institution granting degrees to its graduates. All this must be carefully considered, and partners must be found. Resources directed to this area can be used for financial support; on the other hand, the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders thinks that its role is primarily coordination and management. Thus, money is just one factor. Creating cash flow is not the main task; although it is important and necessary, it is not sufficient for a minority community to live a healthy life.

With regard to the media, these applications would in part solve this problem, but in education we must think hard on how to avoid the continued brain drain which started with the opening of the borders. It will be the task of the coming months to look for possibilities but, again, this can only be done through cooperation. For conditions on the two sides of the border are different. We must therefore involve legal experts, managers, and economists in our work. Karpatalja is in a position in which it would be possible to obtain professional degrees on the other side of another border, i.e., in Slovakia, at the Kiralyhelmec College of Economics.

[Szabo] In other words, you are referring to a cooperation between the regions...

[Torzsok] Precisely. This is what we must consider, not only in the area of economic cooperation but also in that of continued education.

[Szabo] Thus, the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders—as you said earlier—considers every minority organization a negotiating partner...

[Torzsok] Yes, every legitimate minority organization...

[Szabo] Are HTMH's new leaders not concerned that the older minority organizations were formed on the model of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]?

[Torzsok] I think it was natural that the Hungarian minority communities beyond the borders copied, as it were, the results of the Hungarian elections following the first free elections. At the same time, it is apparent that the second elections were followed not by a change of regimes but a change of administrations, which is entirely normal in a democracy. There must be a continuity in foreign policy and economic policy; with regard to the [new] minority policy, it should preserve all of its good aspects (for before 1990 Hungarian foreign policy was not allowed to deal with minorities beyond the borders). On the other hand, we must learn from the mistakes that have become apparent by now, and we should continue to cooperate in the spirit of the minority policy outlined above. In the case of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders—as I have already said—the essence of this is coordination and management, the strengthening of the minorities' internal structure, and the acceptance of diversity as a natural phenomenon of identity. At the same time, I think that what we must concentrate our strength on in the future is not the political parties and organizations; instead, we must strengthen the civilian sphere of the minority communities. Therefore, when I say that projects must be clearly defined and managed, then I also say that, in my opinion, it is not desirable to interfere with internal political debates, which will unavoidably surface and which supposedly are manifestations of a temporary period. I want to emphasize again that I think the most important thing would be to develop the institutional system of these civil communities and to strengthen the healthy processes which guarantee a livelihood in one's birthplace and which serve the preservation of the minority Hungarian culture.

[Szabo] I wish you good luck in implementing your ideas, and thank you for our talk.

National Affairs

President Kuchma Addresses Parliament on Power

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[Address by President Leonid Kuchma to Supreme Council in Kiev—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Oleksandr Oleksandrovych Moroz, esteemed people's deputies. Today you will begin discussing the draft constitutional law on power and local self-government. I am confident that this is an historic event in the development of Ukraine. Such issues as power, its essence, and political meaning determine to a large extent the course, speed, and consequences of society's development. If political forces which control state power truthfully reflect the requirements of the society's economic, political, and spiritual development, they benefit the development of their people and secure them a worthy place in the international community. If state power is in the hands of politicians with an outdated mentality, incapable of efficiently organizing the state, taking advantage of internal creative forces, and neutralizing unfavorable factors, the country declines and becomes an outsider in history. This is particularly important at crucial stages in the history of a nation.

I refer to these axioms, which you undoubtedly know, only to emphasize our common responsibility for Ukraine's present and future. I have no doubt that today's discussion will span a wide range of opinion. This is natural. Different political forces adopt different attitudes to proposed changes. But there is no constructive political force in the world which would not stand for a viable state power structure, even if not in power at the time. Therefore, it is very important to organize our conversation in such a way so that the discussion of various clauses in the law would not hamper an in-depth analysis of objective and subjective conditions for the proposed model of state power structure. It is necessary for all of us to have a clear idea of what will follow if

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parliament approves this law or if it blocks the organization of state power. Either may have fateful consequences.

In this connection, I will permit myself to dwell on some fundamental aspects concerning the draft law in question. Firstly, what are the objective conditions for the implementation of radical change in the sphere of nation-building? I would like to note that the idea about the law on power was carefully analyzed at the same time with the preparation of the president's new economic strategy. It was mentioned in my address to the Supreme Council on 11 October this year, and, as far as I understood, you then supported the idea.

An analysis of the state of affairs in Ukraine permits one to assert that the ruinous processes in the economy are not solely due to essentially economic reasons. The imperfect organization of state power, the incompleteness of dividing the functions between the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches of power are one of the main obstacles on the path to economic stability. As the experience of many countries that were able to overcome the systematic crisis in the economy proves, life-saving measures in those countries were connected with the intensification of state management by means of stabilization processes and with the decisive administrative use of macroeconomic factors. This was the case after the civil war in the Soviet Union and during the great turmoils in the United States and so on.

The situation in Ukraine today is almost identical. The state is weak, society is unstructured, and the economy is practically rudderless. This is why we have ended up in a general social and state crisis and we have only one way out. To strengthen the state but not for the sake of strengthening the state but for the sake of establishing a civilized society.

In the years of independence, we were unable to create a qualitatively new state power formed on the basis of democratic principles which, according to its effectiveness on influencing society, did not equal the state institutions of developed countries. This is simply imperative in conditions of reforming society when the threat of anarchy or mob-rule is rising sharply. A weak government is unable to effectively govern the state sector of the economy which even today accounts for more than 85 percent. In these conditions destatification and the structural rebuilding of the entire economic complex is problematic. On this issue we have not simply failed to move forward but have even allowed regressive tendencies and Ukraine's deindustrialization. I will not go through all our economic problems but will only make a fundamental conclusion based on them. There are two main reasons for the economic crisis in Ukraine: Firstly, the inappropriate and outdated production relations and the deformed structure of the national economic complex which we inherited. Secondly, the imperfect organization of state power in Ukraine and the mistakes made by the higher leadership.

If the first reason is the reason for the fact that we lag behind Western countries then the second explains why we have fallen behind many countries of the CIS which started off with us on equal terms. Precisely this intensifies the processes of Ukraine's self-destruction. If one were to be completely candid, then one would have to admit that the appropriation of the management functions by the parliament and the local councils was a mistake. The misfortune of the Supreme Council in 1991 was not that it took upon itself the functions of state management from the Communist party—at the time nobody else could have done it, but its mistake was that it was afraid, perhaps it was even incapable of transferring completely the executive powers first to the government then later to the popularly elected president.

Practically until July this year, Ukraine was a parliamentary presidential republic and it proved that it was incapable. The government during this period was serving two masters, did not have enough independence, and constantly felt its temporary nature. Its activity was influenced more by political then economic factors. In the first half of 1994, for example, it was more busy with preparations for the elections than with localizing the catastrophically increasing crisis potential. At critical moments, the Cabinet of Ministers simply gave in and thus partially removed the sociopolitical tension but in actual fact deceived the people. There were no real radical changes in the economy nor in the internal policies. Such nonconformity in the organization of the higher state power objectively [word indistinct] of the development of society and was the main hindrance preventing Ukraine's movement forward. There have been no fundamental changes in the state system even at the present moment. The Supreme Council traditionally attempts to directly influence the management activity and adopt decisions on issues which are not within the competence of the executive power. The situation has even deteriorated, since the executive vertical structure is now destroyed. The institution of presidential representatives has been abolished. In fact, the executive power does not have its structures in the localities. This not only complicates the management of the processes that are taking place in society [as heard].

Uncertainty, as far as the delimitation of functions is concerned, inflicts direct material losses. For example, the fruitless discussion in parliament of the essence of the price policy and the absence of direct managerial control over local bodies of power resulted in losses worth more than 23 trillion [currency unspecified] in October and November this year. But who can estimate indirect losses? Someone must bear responsibility for this. So far, it is pensioners, teachers, servicemen, and other budget-supported categories of citizens who pay for the irrational competition between the branches of power. The Supreme Council still fails to get rid of the direct-control-over-the-government syndrome. The issue of prices and the president's decree on speeding up the land reform have under consideration for almost two

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months. Specific problems of the agro-industrial complex regularly become a subject of discussion. Resolutions on energy supply, on preparations for the winter time, on overcoming the cholera epidemic, and so on, are passed. However, the Supreme Council has not managed to resolve at least one of these problems in a positive manner and change the situation for the better in real terms. Nevertheless, the time has been wasted, both the time of the people's deputies and the government officials.

I understand that someone believes he can thus win the authority of being the only protector of the people's interests. But this is nothing but self-deception. It is true, however, that one can win people's support only under condition that their well-being is ensured in real terms. When the Supreme Council openly discusses various painful problems, while people's lives remain unchanged, it only discredits itself and the executive power. This is why I am deeply convinced that the parliament's authority will only grow if it abandons the activity that is not inherent in it. By its nature, parliament cannot perform managerial functions. Under concrete historic conditions, in the absence of a political or party majority at the Supreme Council, it cannot form an efficient government and assume the entire fullness of responsibility before the people. This is why I am convinced that the delimitation of powers does not infringe upon the Supreme Council's interests but, on the contrary, allows its preservation and makes its activity more constructive. Otherwise, if the president does not interfere, the objective course of events will shorten the parliament's life.

All the above circumstances were taken into account when determining the president's new economic policy. It is during the presentation of this policy that the need for the implementation of a political reform, as a means of removing artificial barriers in the way to the economic recovery of society, was proclaimed.

The draft law on power envisages precisely state and political transformations and favorable conditions for overcoming the economic crisis. In our opinion, the proposed solutions can create optimal conditions for establishing the most effective pattern of managing the economy during the crisis.

The second problem, which makes the proposed draft law urgent, is connected with the growing internal tensions within the system of state power itself. The absence of a detailed, constitutionally determined delimitation of powers between the president and the Supreme Council, as well as the excessively independent status of the premier, have always been fraught with contradictions between them. These, mostly behind-the-scenes conflicts were doing harm to the cause and slowed down the solution to many socially important problems. It is not just a matter of individuals: The conflicts were planted in the very legal definition of the functions of these state institutions. If we fail to resolve this issue unequivocally, by means of a constitutional document, we shall not avoid future tensions, which, despite all good declarations, remain and will remain to exist between concrete officials, both in the center and in the regions.

Political reasons were not the only ones behind the tragic conflict in Moscow in October last year. By such an uncivilized method, the issue of optimizing the state power system in accordance with the concrete political realities of the present day was being resolved at the same time.

During the elections in Crimea, both the president and the majority of the autonomy's Supreme Council were political allies, but in six months' time they became political opponents. There are many reasons for this but one of the principal ones was the war between the functions that had not been delimited and that were not optimal.

There are serious arguments between councils and leaders of executive bodies in actually all regions of Ukraine. And this is also the result of, first and foremost, the fact that the legal basis for the local state power and the bodies of self-government has not been determined. As a matter of fact, no one is ruling Ukraine today. Everyone is seeking his own benefit disregarding the interests of the people and practical issues of managing the economy. There are initial signs of the disintegration of the state as a whole. For example, some oblasts and even rayons have established their own norms of deductions to the state budget. This means that the validity of one of the most important laws of Ukraine has been terminated there illegally.

The president cannot put up with such a state of the state power. Nothing good, as they say, will come out of this opposition. And this is just another basis for reasoning that my sympathizers and myself were proceeding from while drafting the law that has been submitted for your consideration.

What are the most important problems the law on power can resolve?

1. We are striving to remove all the grounds for contradictions between state institutions—contradictions that exhaust our not very efficient state—to set up a new mechanism for managing the economy. Incidentally, it is important not to irritate the people by the squabbles between the rulers of the state, but to distribute duties jointly, to get down to work without delay, to concentrate main efforts on economic issues, and to stop the further pauperization of the population. This ideology lies in the basis of the proposed draft law.

2. To delimit the competence of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers at the constitutional level. True, at that point the managerial functions will be concentrated in the president and the government. Someone believes that this will provoke another aggravation of

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contradictions between the president and the Supreme Council. I am deeply convinced that, on the contrary, this is a step toward removing these contradictions. The law on power is to become a kind of a constitutional agreement between all the branches of power, as far as the delimitation of the spheres of competence is concerned. I have no doubts that this will lead not to restricting the power of any one branch at the expense of another one, but, on the contrary, to consolidating each of them, because the executive, legislative, and judicial powers will be engaged in their own business.

The law on power differs fundamentally from all previous unilateral and multilateral statements by the fact that it links any violations of the obligations assumed and any instances of exceeding the established competence with clearly outlined sanctions. For example, the blocking by parliament of the government's formation, procrastination with the approval of the budget, without which no full-blooded economic policy can be conducted, gives grounds for parliament's dissolution.

I support the proposals of deputy groups concerning the possibility of an early termination of the parliament's powers if it is incapable of taking decisions due to the absence of a clearly outlined majority. The Supreme Council has the right to vote no confidence in the government if it is incapable of exercising the domestic and foreign policies effectively. The nonadoption of the program, drawn up by the Cabinet of Ministers, also entails its resignation. The idea to vest parliament with the right to announce a referendum on confidence in the president, or on other most important social issues, also deserves support. I have a positive attitude towards expanding the grounds for impeaching the president.

We all understand that the dissolution of the Supreme Council and impeachment of the president are the most sensitive issues, and not just because they touch upon everyone of us personally. Such actions are connected with the state and political crisis and they require that well-adjusted counterbalances be created. But at the same time, if a legal, legitimate way of resolving incompatible contradictions between the president and parliament is not fixed at the constitutional level, we do not rule out that they may be resolved by illegal methods. In my opinion, the conciliation commission is finding a balanced compromise as regards this issue, too.

The adoption of the law by the constitutional majority will allow to elect a constitutional court in a short period of time. Undoubtedly, it will restrict possible violations of the set rules by any branch of power, discipline the top state institutions and restrain their leaders' ambitions.

This is my position of principle. It is precisely these considerations that make it impossible for me to accept the Supreme Council leadership's proposal to give the president the right for a year to pass legislative acts. The president does not lay claim to the functions of legislative power. He only wants to have the powers that naturally belong to executive authorities. And I want them to be recorded constitutionally.

3. This law will also make it possible to sort out... [pauses] ...to enable executive power to function. We all understand that there is dualism in it, too, which concerns mutual relations between the president and the government.

I shall say openly that, as far as stabilizing the situation in society is concerned, the issue of the government's effective activity is question number one. Today, I am dissatisfied with its work as a whole.

We have so far failed to overcome lack of coordination in actions by the ministries and departments and low executive discipline. It will suffice to say that 90 percent of the problem of irregular energy supply have to do with concrete officials' irresponsibility.

A fundamentally new model of economic management is now being made ready. We cannot do without radically renewing the key personnel and—in some cases—purging the government of people who put their selfish and corporate interests before those of the state.

The draft law provides for a partial change in the status of the government and prime minister. A new distribution of power makes considerably greater the accountability of the president to the people. And I want to have an effective mechanism to fulfill these obligations inside the very executive power and I hope that people's deputies will understand and support me in this.

4. A new foundation of the vertical structure of executive power is being laid. It is ultimately being proposed to do away with local diarchy and initiate the strict subordination of heads of local authorities from top to bottom to state executive power. This measure will make it possible, in practice, to delegate the settlement of a number of important issues—including those of the management of state property—to local level.

The fully fledged vertical structure of executive power is needed to put an end to the atmosphere of total licence and nepotism that was created by a number of heads of rayons and towns. Abuse teems at this level, while ordinary people, who are unable to find justice, are left without any guarantees of support. We have to divest ourselves of these phenomena of modern local feudalism and take harsh steps to establish order and protect the rights of our citizens.

5. The law provides for transforming local councils into local self-government bodies. A lot of hullabaloo now surrounds the issue of abolishing the power of the people. If this is about the power of the councils, we have to admit that they have never had any real power. In the Soviet era, they de facto belonged to the party committees. This is a fact. The councils only created an illusion of democracy and a heated debate on this issue does not seem proper to me, not least because there is no party that the councils could now rely on. It is free elections to

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the state and self-government authorities by the citizens and the right to the direct exercise of the will by way of a referendum that is characteristic of real democracy.

The law does provide for this form of exercising the will of the people. I at the same time back the idea of this draft law clearly defining the functions of local self-government bodies.

There is no doubt that the matters of forming local budgets and supervising their performance, planning long-term regional development, and overlooking the state of education, health protection, and communal services, etc. should be within their exclusive terms of reference.

I also think we shall be able to agree about a decision on oblast and rayon councils of people's deputies by renewing them qualitatively. The coordinative commission arrived at certain mutually acceptable variants, although there remained a lot of questions that are in need of further joint work.

You know that the draft law that is before you was discussed and supported by the Council of the Regions and at meetings with chairmen of local councils of people's deputies. These meetings at the same time appropriately made comments and changes which could also be taken into account when preparing this draft law for the second reading.

The draft law on state power and local self-government bodies also decides a number of other socially important issues in a fundamentally new manner.

I at the same time understand full well that bringing in this law inevitably leads to extra tension in the society's power structures, while its nonpassage or lengthy political debates on this issue will provoke new social difficulties. I am convinced, however, that without radical political reform, we shall not be able to influence the economy effectively, which means that we shall not be able to halt our people's further impoverishment. It was exactly this that prompted me to seek an immediate solution to this problem.

What shape can the developments take?

The first is constructive cooperation between the Supreme Council and the President. At the meeting with parliamentary presidium members and group leaders, we reached a practical compromise about the passage of this draft law. Today, it could be passed in principle. A coordinative commission has been formed to finalize it and reach a compromise on its contentious clauses. I have already spoken about my support for some of this commission's proposals. I am certain we shall be able to reach an understanding on the settlement of other issues, too. Once we make our positions agree, the law could be passed by a constitutional majority at the same time as invalidating the constitution's paragraphs and articles that contravene it.

I would like to ask the Supreme Council to make a decision on this matter of principle in the very near future.

I have held preliminary meetings with representatives of all parliamentary and deputies' groups and groupings. My firm impression after them is that we can assess the situation in a sober manner and find acceptable variants so as to resolve the problems of reorganizing state power. That is why it is particularly important for us in the course of today's debate to be able to overcome our confrontational attitudes and launch constructive dialogue which can result in a joint [word indistinct] the circumstances we have found ourselves in.

Unfortunately, a situation cannot be ruled today where the President and Supreme Council fail to reach a common decision. I shall be open about my further actions if this is the case: Already I have repeatedly said that this is the matter of principle, upon the solution of which the possibility of ending the economic crisis and stabilizing the society in general depends to a considerable degree. That is why, in that case, I shall be forced to appeal directly to the people for this problem to be resolved. The possibility will be found at all costs of holding a referendum on this issue.

I personally do not need power as such. What I need is the objective possibility of pursuing a policy which, as far as most of our people are concerned, will end the situation that all of us are in and will make it possible to stop the disintegration of the economy and the state.

If support—if, I emphasize once again—support is given to the president, I shall continue to pursue my economic and political strategy approved recently by the Supreme Council. If confidence is expressed in the Supreme Council, the parliament has to take upon itself the whole of the full power and responsibility, including for the formation of the government controlled totally by it and so on. Although the notion of the responsibility of the Supreme Council in this situation is relative, it does not exist in practice as it is impossible to divide it by 400 people. The absence of a party majority in parliament does not even make it possible to shift it to certain political forces. This has to be remembered by you as those elected by the people, and by our public.

Given the current distribution of political forces in parliament, I have no doubt that this form of the Supreme Council's government of the society will have sad consequences. I state this straightforwardly and openly. Whatever the results of the referendum are, however, the diarchy in executive power will be put an end to.

Having said that, I well understand how dangerous is the very situation of power redistribution. Ancient and modern history knows many examples of a mere court intrigue leading to confrontation in society. I am only convinced that we shall never allow any drastic events in Ukraine. I give this guarantee to my compatriots: I shall

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neither myself resort to such inhuman methods of resolving any political problems whatsoever, nor permit others to do this.

We also have to have a good realization of the level of our responsibility to our people for their life at present and in future and always remember that there stands a scaffold near the throne. God save us, however, from consigning this people to the scaffold of history, while ourselves all holding on to our helmsman seats.

Kiev Secures $500-Million Loan From World Bank

MS2312094494 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 23 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Matthew Kaminski]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev—The World Bank yesterday approved a $500m [million] loan to support the transition to a market economy in Ukraine.

The aid, for essential imports, came after the former Soviet republic committed itself to free more prices revive mass privatisation, and reform the ailing agriculture and energy sectors.

The bank's decision follows the International Monetary Fund's [IMF] endorsement of President Leonid Kuchma's economic reform efforts with a $371m loan in October.

Talks on a $1.5bn [billion] stand-by loan continue next month, with disbursement possible as early as February, Ukrainian and aid officials said.

While the quick disbursements reflect an effort to help Mr Kuchma overcome Ukraine's economic crisis, aid officials remain concerned about implementation.

Under the IMF deal, Ukraine agreed to pay for energy imports but the failure to cover Turkmen gas imports this quarter sparked a row within the government. A top energy official last week was sacked by Mr Kuchma, who promised to pay Turkmenistan after the funds earmarked for imports were diverted.

Under the bank loan, the largest amount of western assistance so far, Ukraine committed itself to sell 8,000 medium and large enterprises and 90 per cent of small enterprises. A voucher scheme will be used at pilot auctions scheduled for February 1, which allows Ukraine to get around parliament's moratorium on cash privatisation.

These steps face resistance from Ukraine's conservative ministries and parliament. To gain more control over the reform process Mr Kuchma proposed centralising authority with the president. The law was debated in parliament yesterday. Mr Kuchma told deputies: "Without radical political changes, radical economic reforms are impossible. If the parliament cannot agree to this, I will have to ask the people directly, through a referendum."

Joint Stock Company To Deal With Oil, Gas Supplies

LD2312105594 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1905 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—The edict of the president of Ukraine "on reforming the system of providing the national economy with materials and machinery," made public on 22 December, has put the state joint stock company "Ukrresursy," as of 1 January 1995, in charge of settlements for the supply of natural gas, oil, and petroleum products under the intergovernmental agreements between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, and Ukraine and Turkmenistan. The company is to be set up on the basis of the enterprises and organizations subordinate to Ukraine's Material Resources State Committee. This committee will then be disbanded. Anatoliy Volkovskyy has been appointed chairman of the board of the "Ukrresursy" state joint stock company.

Ukraine's State Property Fund has been instructed to ensure that, as well as those enterprises' and organizations' assets, the shares of the joint stock companies that were set up by way of corporatizing state enterprises; the system of supplying materials and machinery; the administrative buildings at numbers 10, 10a and 21 Muzeynyy lane, Kiev; and other property that is owned by the state and which is necessary to provide for the company's activity, are to be transferred to the company's authorized capital.

It is ruled that the company's shares, that are to be issued to the amount of its authorized capital, are to be in owned by the state until a special decision is made on its privatization.

Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has been tasked with forming a commission that will deal with the liquidation of Ukraine's Material Resources Committee; compiling a list of the enterprises, organizations and joint stock companies whose shares are to be transferred to the company's authorized capital; and, within two weeks, approving the regulations of the state joint stock company "Ukrresursy."

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Belarus

President Rejects Resignation of Chancellor Titenkov

LD2212144694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tashkent, Dec 22 (Interfax)—Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka did not accept the resignation of his chancellor Ivan Titenkov and disagreed with suspension of acting Defense Minister Anatoly Kostenko.

Titenkov and Kostenko made statements about their resignation at the December 20 session of the Supreme Soviet following a report presented by Free Trade Union leader Sergey Antonchik, MP, accusing Titenkov of corruption and Kostenko of abuse of power.

Titenkov told Interfax that he had been bitterly reproached by Lukashenka for seeking to step down at such tough times. Titenkov added that Lukashenka was confident that the charges were unjustified.

Titenkov said that he would sue Antonchik for five billion Belarusian rubles ($500,000).

Titenkov said that his and Kostenko's participation in the delegation under Lukashenka that had arrived in Tashkent on an official visit on December 21, confirmed that Lukashenka had no intention of parting company with them.

Lukashenka also rejected the resignation of his Chief of Staff Leonid Sinitsyn who acts for him while he is in Uzbekistan.

U.S. Aid for Novopolotsk Petrochemical Complex Detailed

MM2312103394 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Natalya Shapova under "Joint Projects" rubric: "Dollar Will Help Belorussian [Belarusian] Petrochemical Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kenneth Yalowitz, U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Belarus, and L. Novozhilov, general director of the Belorussian "Polimer" Production Association, have signed an agreement on the allocation of $500,000 by the U.S. Trade and Development Agency. The funds are earmarked for an expert technical, financial, and ecological appraisal of a projected complex producing ethylene, polyethylene, and copolymers for the manufacture of chemical fibers, films, cables, and finishing materials on the basis of the "Polimer" Production Association, in Novopolotsk.

This production association, one of the leading petrochemical enterprises in Belorussia [Belarus], supplies output not only for the domestic market but also abroad. According to the director of the "Polimer" Production Association, which cooperates closely with analogous enterprises in Russia, the project for the new complex will be chosen on a competitive basis and will make it possible to increase the enterprise's capacity by 20-25 percent.

The expert appraisal, for which six months have been set aside from the day of the agreement's signing, will be carried out by the U.S. firm of consultants Brown and Root. The appraisal of the new complex's manufacturing processes, economic profitability, and viability will result in further investment of up to $300 million by the U.S. Export-Import Bank in its construction and operation. The new project will be commissioned 18 months after the expert appraisal. This is the biggest project of commercial cooperation between the United States and Belorussia.

Moldova

Snegur, Smirnov on Dniester's Status, Economic Issues

AU2212203794 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 21 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau INFOTAG, 21/12/1994—The Moldovan and Dniester leaders held a meeting in Chisinau today.

The Moldovan side was represented by President Mircea Snegur, Parliament Chairman Petru Lucinschi, Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli, President of the National Bank Leonid Talmaci.

Tiraspol—by the president of the breakaway republic Igor Smirnov, and the local parliament chairman Grigore Maracuta.

The meeting was attended by Philip Hahn, head of the CSCE Permanent Mission to Moldova, and Ambassador Vladlen Vassev, Russian president's special envoy.

The participants discussed the activity of expert groups drafting the Dniester status law and settling economic problems between the two banks of the Dniester.

They confirmed their commitment to the statement signed by Snegur and Smirnov on April 28, in which they acknowledged "the necessity to determine a legal status of Dniester."

A special attention was paid to solving economic problems in the interests of population and normal functioning of industry and agriculture.

The participants have agreed to hold such sessions every month. At the next meeting, they are going to consider draft documents on normalization of customs activities, financial and bank systems, cooperation within the CIS, liquidation of existing barriers in population travelling, and urgent repair of bridges across the Dniester.

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They discussed also the Latin script problem faced by Moldovan-language schools in Dniester.

One of the key problems, discussed at today's meeting in Chisinau, was a possible introduction of the leu currency in Dniester, INFOTAG was told by a source in the Tiraspol government.

That problem is substantially closer to a positive outcome than a year ago, when the leu was introduced in Moldova, though much remains to be negotiated yet, the source said.

"Politicians on both banks of the river have understood that economy must work regardless of political winds. Economic agents do cooperate, and they should be given a possibility to settle accounts. However, the conditions offered by Chisinau to introduce the leu in our region are not quite acceptable for us for the time being. Appropriate negotiations will be continued," said the Dniester official.

The talks continuation was also confirmed by Leonid Talmaci, president of the National Bank of Moldova. According to him, Tiraspol suggests to allow the leu circulation there parallel with the local coupon, to transform the Dniester Central Bank into a branch of the National Bank of Moldova, and to make its governor deputy president of the National Bank of Moldova.

"Theoretically, all this is possible, but there are great problems in connection with the standards of living in Dniester, which are substantially lower than in Moldova proper. Dniester is suffering a sky-rocketing inflation, while we have succeeded in arresting inflationary pressures. We have generally stabilized the leu's exchange rate, thus having passed the most difficult phases in our development, and we cannot return back to them. This means that a very detailed preparation will be necessary to realize the idea, not to make people suffer," Talmaci said.

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Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev on Strengthening National Security

LD2212194294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 22 Dec 94

[Compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy; edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev said the republic should strengthen its security by obtaining proper guarantees from nuclear states and by increasing the combat readiness of its armed forces.

Speaking on Wednesday [21 December] at the Defense Ministry, Nazarbayev said he considered it his duty as supreme commander-in-chief to ensure the country's security in two ways: by diplomatic efforts to maintain good relations with neighboring states and by taking measures to step up the battle readiness of the Kazakh armed services, which were formally established on May 7, 1992.

The president said the republic had chosen a correct military policy: "Our (military) doctrine is purely defensive." He said Kazakhstan is making persistent efforts to obtain security guarantees from nuclear powers in exchange for its nuclear disarmament and for joining the START-I and Nonproliferation treaties.

"Situated at the juncture of Europe and Asia in what is very dangerous encirclement, especially in the south, we could not keep the world on tenterhooks and be an object of nuclear blackmail," the Kazakh leader said.

He said the United States, Britain and Russia had signed a memorandum in Budapest on December 5 promising security guarantees to former Soviet republics, including Kazakhstan, which provisionally have nuclear weapons on their territory.

Rallies Call For End to Chechen War

LD2212152394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1325 GMT 22 Dec 94

[By KAZTAG correspondent Yesenkul Bekbulatova for ITAR-TASS]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Almaty December 22 TASS—A rally calling for an end to war in Chechnya was held in Almaty on Thursday [22 December] by the civilian movement Azat, the people's staff Attan and the Chechen cultural centre Vainakh. On behalf of a number of national cultural centres, political parties and movements a petition was addressed to Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev suggesting that he assume a peace mission and condemn combat operations.

The Kazakhstan public is concerned over the Chechen events. Rallies of solidarity with the Chechen people were held in Uralsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Kustanai and Dzhezkazgan. In mosques and Christian churches prayers are said to save the souls of young soldiers who have to fire at one another.

Kyrgyzstan

Bishkek Signs European Energy Charter Agreement

LD2112150594 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The concluding conference of the European energy charter this year took place in Lisbon, Portugal. A delegation from Kyrgyzstan, led by Jamalbek Tolberdiyev, president of the state joint-stock holding energy company took part in it. The conference examined such urgent problems as creating intergovernmental conditions to invest money in the development of power engineering, trading in energy products and the transit of energy products, namely electricity, gas, coal, oil and atomic energy. A special place was given to protecting ecology. [passage indistinct]

During the conference, 46 member countries out of 49 signed an agreement on the European energy charter. The participation of Kyrgyzstan in the signing of this important document and its future cooperation in the charter, give the country the green light to be an equal among equals on the international scene, since the republic can sell, albeit in small amounts, its electricity and coal.

Uzbekistan Announces Intent To Cut Off Gas

LD2212141394 Bishkek VECHERNIY BISHKEK in Russian 21 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Today [21 December] at 2000 [1500 GMT] Uzbekistan will cut off the gas supply. An official telegram received this morning notified our government of this. Tashkent says in the telegram that Kyrgyzstan is not fulfilling the terms and conditions for delivering goods in payment for fuel.

Almambek Matubraimov, first vice prime minister, who was in complete charge of supplying the republic with fuel, resigned today. The deputy head of the government made the decision to participate in the election marathon for the Supreme Council. Who will solve this recurring problem is still unknown.

Until official Bishkek agrees with Tashkent on renewing the gas supply, Kyrgyzstan will use the fuel Uzbekistan supplies to Kazakhstan. In addition to all this, the weather forecasters tell us that temperatures will drop to minus 12 degrees Celsius starting tomorrow.

Cossacks to Serve With Russian Troops in Kyrgyzia

LD2212142594 Bishkek VECHERNIY BISHKEK in Russian 22 Dec 94 p1

[FBIS Translated Text] Hooray! The first detachments of Semirechye Cossacks have joined the ranks of Russian border troops in Kyrgyzstan.

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According to Mikhail Buchnev, chairman of the republican Cossack Cultural and Economic Center, they have reached an agreement with the command of the Russian border troops on the formation in the troops of Cossack subdivisions, both for conscript soldiers and those serving on contracts.

Preparations have started for conscription in 1995. The Cossacks are carrying out interviews in a Sunday school of the Resurrection Cathedral, and particularly stress that the oath of fidelity to the Cossacks can be sworn not only on the Bible, but on the Koran, or at Buddha' statue, and so on as well.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Demands Ministers Assume 'New Style of Work'

LD2012190294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1613 GMT 20 Dec 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy; edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Saparmurad Niyazov has demanded that leaders of the ministries and departments of the republic assume "new style of work". At the extended session of the Cabinet of Ministers on Monday [19 December] he said that most ministers do not know modern methods of work, cannot show initiative and still uphold the old principles of the party leadership.

Niyazov said about his intention to change shortly the methods of ruling the Cabinet and his administration, as well as change names and functions of some government bodies. It is planned to create a department for control over the implementation of decrees and decisions of the president. The president explained the need for such a step that some of his decisions were not fulfilled. The president mentioned his decree that each citizen is obliged to plant two trees a year.

Commenting on the president's statement, his press service says that "it was an unforgettable lesson on what should be attitude to work by ministers" and expresses hope that each leader "should comply with the golden words by the first president."

Observers believe that Niyazov repeatedly raises the question of style and methods of work. On July 29 at a similar meeting, after criticism against them, leaders of the agriculture and oil and gas ministries resigned. In November dismissed was one of vice-premiers who was responsible for agriculture. Recently chief of the tax inspection was also dismissed for shortcomings in work.

Manat To Be Legal Tender Starting 20 Dec

LD2012131094 Ashkhabat TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 15 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text]

On Certain Measures to Regulate Currency Circulation

The president of Turkmenistan issued a resolution on certain measures to regulate currency circulation, which envisions measures to strengthen financial discipline and stabilize the exchange rate of the national currency against foreign currencies. Beginning 20 December 1994 all legal and natural persons are prohibited from making any internal payments in foreign currency on the territory of Turkmenistan. Enterprises, establishments, and organizations which carry out export transactions at the State Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange of Turkmenistan are allowed to use either the national or foreign currencies, which are being quoted by the country's Central Bank. Enterprises, establishments, and organizations owned by the state, except the oil and gas industry, will sell 50 percent of their foreign currency receipts to the Central Bank of Turkmenistan in order to support the exchange rate of the national currency and to make payments of state importance. Payment for the foreign currency will be made in manats at the exchange rate of the Central Bank of Turkmenistan.

In order to settle payments with foreign partners for goods, products, and raw materials, enterprises and organizations will submit an application to purchase foreign currency at their own bank. Banks will submit these applications to the Central Bank of Turkmenistan for the consideration of the president of Turkmenistan.

Uzbekistan

UN Observer Calls Election Preparations 'Honest'

LD2212141794 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In Accordance With International Norms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our country is on the eve of an important political event—the elections to the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Uzbekistan and to regional, district, and town councils. In connection with this, foreign observers are familiarizing themselves with the election campaign in situ. For example, a group of foreign observers headed by Khalid Malik, the United Nations permanent representative in Uzbekistan, visited Bukhara Region and studied the progress of preparations for the elections in a number of constituencies and polling stations. They spoke to candidates and voters.

"We are satisfied with our trip to Bukhara," Khalid Malik said. "We are convinced that the forthcoming elections will be conducted in the region at the level of international democratic norms. We have seen that equal conditions have been created for all the candidates. This will fully provide for the work that is being conducted in constituencies and polling stations. The election struggle is being conducted on an honest and just basis."

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The foreign observers met the region's head M. Rakhmonov.

Visiting Belarusian President Signs Friendship Pact

WS2212122794 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 94

[Inna Yefimskaya report on visit to Uzbekistan by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, in Tashkent—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is 1600 here, in the capital of Uzbekistan, therefore, all the events of the visit have already taken place. We, however, can summarize the results of the day.

Members of the Belarusian delegation laid flowers at the monument to Alisher Navoi in the National Park of Uzbekistan this morning. The working portion of the visit then began. Presidents Alyaksandr Lukashenka and Islam Karimov signed a declaration to further strengthen friendship and cooperation, as well as an agreement on cooperation in the areas of art and culture. In addition, some 20 important agreements and documents—in particular, on avoiding dual taxation, military-technical cooperation, international automobile communications, cooperation in the sector of railway transportation, freight transportation, electronic and postal communication, and of course, what is the most important, an agreement on trade and economic cooperation for 1995—have been signed at the intergovernmental level. According to the agreement on trade and economic cooperation for 1995, our Republic will receive 20,000 tonnes of cotton from Uzbekistan next year.

A joint news conference was later held by the two presidents at the Palace of People's Friendship. (?Our) delegation will visit Uzekspotsentr later today and view its expositions. A reception in honor of Alyaksandr Lukashenka, hosted by Uzbek President Islam Karimov, will be held at the [word indistinct] House for Solemn Occasions.

More on Cooperation Agreement

LD2212144094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1139 GMT 22 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vilor Niyazmatov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tashkent December 22 TASS—As a result of talks in Tashkent between Uzbek President Islam Karimov and his Byelorussian [Belarusian] counterpart Alyaksandr Lukashenka, a number of documents on economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries were signed today.

These include the declaration on the main spheres of economic cooperation, the agreement on automobile, railway and air traffic and the agreement on the struggle against smuggling, illegal arms trade and drug trafficking.

Apart from it, the sides reached agreement on cooperation in the military-technical sphere, on control over the illegally exported and imported cultural values, on electric and post communication and on postal orders.

The two leaders discussed a possibility of pooling efforts by their countries in the main spheres of industry, energy generation, the production and processing of mineral raw materials, agriculture, science and technology. The consolidation of ties between enterprises, the establishment of direct contacts between organisations and institutions, the implementation of joint programmes and the avoiding of double taxation were also mentioned in their conversation.

Tomorrow will be the third and final day of the official visit of Byelorussian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka to Uzbekistan.

Karimov Details Accords

LD2212155194 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 1000 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Eighteen documents designed to develop relations between Uzbekistan and Belarus and strengthen the friendship between the two peoples were signed at the end of an official meeting today. Two of these documents are interstate agreements, while the others are between ministries. Documents were signed between organizations and departments as well.

President Islam Karimov of the Republic of Uzbekistan and President Alyaksandr Lukashenka of Belarus held a news conference for foreign journalists accredited in Uzbekistan and for journalists from Uzbekistan and Belarus.

The leader of our republic opened the news conference and said:

[Begin Karimov recording, in Russian] We consider the visit to Uzbekistan by the Belarus state delegation led by President Lukashenka as a manifestation of the aspiration of both states and both peoples, the Uzbek and Belarus peoples, to strengthen and deepen cooperation, and finally to fulfill the unused potential which exists in matters of economic cooperation.

The Belarus delegation arrived yesterday. In a short space of time we have managed to sign a number of documents, which I will talk about, but the main point is that this visit was prepared in advance. I would like first to thank everyone, for both Belarus and the Republic of Uzbekistan, who so competently and scrupulously prepared the 18 documents signed today.

I want to briefly enumerate or mention these documents so that you can gain some sort of impression or view, and so that we can answer any questions that might arise.

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President Alyaksandr Rygoravich Lukashenka of Belarus and I signed two documents.

The first is a declaration by the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Belarus on strengthening friendship and cooperation.

The second document is a treaty between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Belarus on cooperation in the sphere of culture and art.

The following intergovernmental documents were signed by the governments of our states and by the relevant structures:

—an agreement between the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the government of the Republic of Belarus on avoiding dual taxation and on preventing tax evasion with regard to property and income tax;

—an agreement on military technological cooperation;

—an agreement on international road communications;

—an agreement on cooperation on railway transport;

—an agreement between the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the government of the Republic of Belarus on air communications, and cooperation on air transport;

—an agreement between Belarus and Uzbekistan on cooperation on freight transport;

—an agreement on mutual cooperation on postal orders;

—an agreement on cooperation in the field of electronic and postal communications;

—an agreement on nontrade payments;

—an agreement on trade and economic cooperation;

and many other documents: as I said, 18 documents in total, in the field of customs regulations and other regulatory documents which are necessary prerequisites for cooperation both in economics and trade. [end recording]

[passage omitted]

[Begin Lukashenka recording, in Russian] We really did reach agreement today with the leadership of your republic and with your president. He and I got to know each other wery well yesterday and today. We got to know each other better.

I certainly became convinced that the Uzbek people are lucky to have a pragmatist who understands the future of the Uzbek people, state, and republic, and who has a clear understanding of what needs to be done today, and who has come to power.

We had no differences on any of the issues we discussed. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Agree Chechnya Russia's Affair

LD2312000794 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Uzbek President Islam Karimov said today that Chechnya was Russian territory and that it was subject to the constitution and laws of the Russian Federation. President of Belarus Aleksandr Lukashenka [in Tashkent] stressed that the Chechen problem was an exclusively Russian affair and expressed his confidence that the Chechen conflict would not lead to destabilization inside the CIS.

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Armenia

Robert Kocharian Elected 'President' of Karabakh

NC2212173694 Yerevan SNARK in English 1305 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Stepanakert, December 22. (SNARK). Robert Kocharian, who was the chairman of the NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] State Defence Committee (SDC), became the first President of Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to NKR Supreme Council Law on presidency in Nagorno- Karabakh, adopted on December 21, the first president is to be elected for 2 years by the parliament of the republic. After this term is up, the president will be elected by national voting for 5 years.

51 parliamentaries from participating 53 deputies voted for Robert Kocharian. Two were abstained.

It is supposed that tomorrow the first president of NKR will take the oath.

Ter-Petrossyan Congratulates Kocharian

NC2312114094 Yerevan SNARK in English 0835 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan-Stepanakert, December 23. (SNARK)—Head of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrossyan congratulated Robert Kocharian on the occasion of the latter being elected the first President of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR]. In the telegram of congratulation Armenian President expressed his hope, that the introduction of presidency in NKR and election of Robert Kocharian for that post will assist to the peaceful political regulation of Karabakh problem, provide the security of population and the realization of social-economic development program.

Meanwhile, during the special session of NKR Parliament an inauguration of the first Nagorno-Karabakh President took place. Then the session of NKR Supreme council continued its work. It is supposed that the president will represent for the parliament discussion the candidatu [item incomplete as received]

Azerbaijan

Foreign Minister Denounces Election in Karabakh

NC2212204194 Baku TURAN in English 1541 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (December 22) TURAN: "So-called Nagorno-Karabakh - is illegal formation with all its consequences," told TURAN Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov speaking about the information of Armenian mass media in respect the elections of so-called "president of Nagorno-Karabakh". He noted that "there is just a territory, occupied by Armenia and the marionet formations are on that occupied territory which try to look like state institutions. All that is inspired by Armenia's leadership," said the Minister.

"Baku has never recognised and will never recognise the self- proclaimed republic beyond state structure of Azerbaijan's system," said Hasanov. He added that presently many powerful states of the world and international organizations headed by the UN and the CSCE recognise Nagorno-Karabakh as the part of Azerbaijan.

Concerning the question how actions of Armenians can affect the negotiations he said: "Negatively". We assess all that as unwillingness of Armenia to conduct constructive negotiations with Azerbaijan, to speed up peaceful process and to break the implementation of the decisions of [item incomplete as received]

Rusian Envoy on Settlement of Conflict With Armenia

NC2212141794 Baku TURAN in English 1608 GMT 21 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, December 19 (TURAN)—"Continuation of negotiations on the settlement the Armenian-Azeri conflict will be discussed by our Swedish colleagues in Moscow, the date of resume the negotiations will be determined during the contacts with Stockholm," TURAN was told by Russian president's special envoy Vladimir Kazimirov.

According to Kazimirov, during the consultations with Swedish diplomats a draft of mandate of co-chiefs of the CSCE's Minsk group in conformity with the decisions of the summit in Budapest as well as issues concerning the continuation of negotiations in Moscow will be discussed. "We will clarify our proposals for the conflicting parties on the date on resume the negotiations."

Concerning the similarities in Armenian-Azeri and Russian Chechen conflicts Vladimir Kazimirov said "we can speak about different situations". According to him, the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh has been lasted for six months [years] and the conflict should be settled by world community. Speaking about Chechnya he said: "though the fights there lasted only some weeks, there was not an armed conflict." Russia used all means for peaceful solution of the conflict. Existing of armed formations and the bands at the territory of the state is not normal and should be prevented. The more the solution of one conflict will last, the more easy will be the solution of another crisis.

According to Kazimirov, a Budapest's solution on the co-presiding the Sweden and Russia in the Minsk group will affect positively the speeding up the process of settlement of Armenian-Azeri conflict. "Russia has never considered that there is not a problem of Shusha and Lachin. Another problem is when and which solution we have to find for each conflict," said Kazimirov, concerning the problems in peacekeeping process. He noted that for the settling the principal problems, including Shusha and Lachin there should be minimum of confidence of the parties.

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Chechnya Crisis Affects Transportation From Russia

NC2312093194 Baku TURAN in English 1943 GMT 21 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (December 21) TURAN: "Today one can come to Azerbaijan from Russia only by air through the international airport "Sheremetievo" and "Vnukovo", TURAN was told by Russia Embassy in Baku. According to employees of Russian Embassy the transport between Russia and Azerbaijan is stopped only through the North Caucasus due to situation in Chechnya.

Russian Embassy refuted the information on full stop of transport from Azerbaijan to Russia and noted that Azerbaijan determines the number of regularities from Azerbaijan to Russia. Tomorrow the Russian Embassy is going to conduct briefing for the press "where a detailed information will be given."

Today Russian ambassador Valter Shonia is expected to be invited to Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry in this respect. He will be received by Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov. Azerbaijan's ambassador in Russia Ramiz Rizayev told TURAN that today in the morning one plane on the line "Azal", the route Baku-Moscow had arrived in Moscow and at 16:30 (Moscow's time) one more plane on the line "Transair" is expected.

He noted that people not having Russian registration will not be let in Moscow, according to the decision of Russian government.

"Concerning the people who is on business trip to Moscow, this issue is being carried out with Russian Foreign Ministry," said he.

Rizayev assessed the decision adopted by Russian government on the closure the South borders as a decision having very bad consequences for the economy of Azerbaijan, as most part of goods, including humanitarian aid for Azerbaijan passes through Russia.

TURAN was told by Caspian shipping office that usual schedule of work was not violated and the leadership is waiting for instructions from Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry.

Gasanov Speaks to Russian Ambassador

NC2212200294 Baku TURAN in English 1541 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (December 22) TURAN: Today Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister, Gasan Gasanov, received the Ambassador of Russian Federation, Valter Shonia, due to Russia's resolution on suspending all transport communications with Azerbaijan. During the meeting Gasan Gasanov expressed regret and concern of the Azerbaijani Government about the resolution of the Russian Government. "It will worsen the situation, which is bad enough anyway in Azerbaijan due to Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan", Azeri Foreign Minister said.

Gasan Gasanov made a request to Russian Ambassador to inform the Russian Government about Azerbaijan's appeal to revise this resolution.

Ambassador, Valter Shonia, promised that he will inform Moscow about this request.

Gasan Gasanov said that the biggest volume of cargoes is delivered to Azerbaijan through Russia's territory. He mentioned hat due to situation in Chechnya, the traffic on North-Caucasian railway was suspended causing difficult situation in Azerbaijan. "Now, when Russia adopted the resolution concerning total closure of transport communications, the problems will aggravate. We left alone with very difficult situation. We must supply the population with food products, which must be delivered from Russia", Foreign Minister Gasanov said.

Hasan Gasanov said that "those who adopted this resolution must have forecasted negative consequences of this resolution for the countries, which have friendly relations with Russia".

"At present, I think, it is enough that I received Russian Ambassador and made the statement to him. In the future our activities will correspond to the course of further development of events", Gasan Gasanov told journalists.

Official Denies Government Helping Chechnya

LD2212230594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, Dec 22 (Interfax)—Azerbaijani State Advisor Gabil Guseynli denied allegations in some media about Baku helping Chechnya in an interview with Interfax today.

He also denied that Azerbaijani mercenaries were fighting in Chechnya. He refuted allegations about foreign mercenaries, volunteers and military cargoes arriving in Chechnya via Azerbaijan.

He said he believed that such rumors were spread by "some circles interested in making relations between Moscow and Baku worse."

Guseynli said the Azerbaijani opposition sympathized with Grozny and displayed solidarity with Chechnya. He stressed that this was not the official position of the Azerbaijani leaders.

Gasanov Appreciates Iran's Support at ICO Summit

LD2312091794 Tehran IRNA in English 0746 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, Dec. 23, IRNA—Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan Gasan Gasanov appreciated Iran's support his country in the recent summit meeting of Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) [ICO], held in Morocco's Dar-el-Beida [Casablanca].

In a letter to his Iranian counterpart, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, delivered to the Iranian Embassy in Baku Thursday [22 December], Gasanov expressed hope that Tehran-Baku bilateral ties would further expand in future.

He also called for continuation of Iran's humanitarian aid to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

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Georgia

Parliament Speaker Goguadze Announces Resignation

LD2312102294 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 0955 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi (IPRINDA)—A closed session of the Georgian parliament, which discussed the issue of power structures of Georgia, was held on 23 December. Shortly after the beginning of the session, Vakhtang Goguadze, parliament speaker, left the session hall and announced his resignation justifying it by the fact that he could not manage work of parliament. Vakhtang Rcheulishvili, vice speaker of the parliament, on his part said that in the given situation the entire speaker's office had to resign. The agency correspondent reports that Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state, was not at the session.

Human Rights Official Supports Russian Border Closure

LD2212123894 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent R. Babayan] The decision by the Russian leadership to close its border with Georgia was deemed to be extremely necessary. Russia has every right to adopt all measures to prevent the infiltration of combatants, volunteers, and weapons into Chechen territory. This was stated at a meeting with correspondents today by Sandro Kavsadze, chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Inter-Ethnic Relations of the Georgian Government.

The Chechen conflict is the internal affair of the Russian state, but Georgia sees it as a direct consequence of the Georgia-Abkhazia confrontation. Then the Abkhazian separatists, Kavsadze stressed, did not receive the necessary rebuff, and Georgia's numerous requests to Russia to close the border did not receive the required understanding in Moscow. It was precisely when the Chechen combatants infiltrated Abkhazian territory without hindrance that a precedent was created for the participation of so-called volunteers in combat operations on the territory of other states.

Speaking about his attitude to the statement by Viktor Shumeyko, chairman of the Russian parliament's upper chamber, on the need for the withdrawal of Russia's peacekeeping forces from the zone of the Georgia-Abkhazia conflict, Sandro Kavsadze said that, in principle, Georgia is prepared to support such an initiative, but in this case one cannot rule out the possibility of a resumption of hostilities in this region.

[Begin Kavsadze recording] The peacekeepers have virtually divided Georgia, they have divided Georgia, and a second and a third border have virtually been formed. Mr. Shumeyko was quite right in saying this, and this side has been and is using this situation for its own specific purposes. However, in order to assess the withdrawal of the peacekeeping forces from this zone, you know, one has to think about this, but the peacekeeping forces were right for Abkhazia. [end recording]

Debate in Parliament on Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD2212173194 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 1340 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Addressing the Georgian Parliament sitting, Irakli Tsereteli, one of the most radical representatives of the parliamentary opposition, once again raised an issue concerning the implementation of a resolution on the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Georgia passed by the parliament back in 1993. A remark that the resolution had been adopted before Georgia joined the CIS evoked heated debates. The deputies demanded that a definition be made whether Georgia's joining the CIS meant the renunciation of its independence and whether the Commonwealth of independent States was a replica of the USSR. It was decided that the discussion of the issue raised by Irakli Tsereteli would be continued at a closed sitting of the parliament, which would also deal with the activities of the force structures [Security Service and Defense and Interior Ministries].

At its evening sitting on 21 December, parliament discussed the draft law on investments.

Pro-Tbilisi Abkhazians Opposes Abkhaz, Chechen Separatism

LD2212211594 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, when the opportunity to find a political settlement to the Abkhazian conflict has become apparent, the destructive forces of the republic, together with some deputies of the Parliament, are staging rallies calling for the return to Abkhazia by force, that is, for fresh bloodshed. The Council of Ministers of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic [based in Tbilisi] declares officially that it censures categorically this sort of willfulness and calls for the population, primarily the displaced persons, not to yield to the provocations based only on self-interest and vanity.

By setting up armed units and sending them to support Dudayev, the Gudauta separatists create a danger of the final extermination of the Abkhaz nation.

We see the actual way of restoring justice and settling the problem of Georgia's territorial integrity in mutual understanding, mutual support, and common struggle against any kind of aggressive separatism by the Russian and Georgian states as well as by the whole world community, the statement of the Council of Ministers of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic concludes.

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Estonia

Foreign Ministry Delegation In Russia for Talks

LD2212152294 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0700 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Summary] Toivo Klaar, the head of the political department of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, and Mart Helme, the head of the third bureau, will leave for Moscow today to meet representatives of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Explaining the reasons for the visit, Helme said: "According to our existing plans, we will meet Sergey Krylov, the Russian deputy foreign minister in charge of European affairs. Among other issues, we would like to discuss our approach to and view on the border issue, and also Russian customs duties, which discriminate against Estonian goods. We will also have a whole list of specific issues relating to consular matters—border crossings and other rather specific issues which need to be looked at and discussed every now and then."

Helme said that they are going to clarify the statement made by Premier Andres Tarand about possible territorial concessions to Russia.

Parliament Approves Higher 1995 Military Funding

MM2312102094 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Lembit Annus: "Kroon Losing Value While Generals Get Fat. Military Expenditure Increasing in Estonian Budget"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tallin [Tallinn]—The new year could start tomorrow, as far as the Estonian state is concerned. Before breaking up for the Christmas recess, the State Assembly adopted the 1995 budget. For the first time in three years of independence, parliament has completed its tasks on time.

The greatest number of problems arose in the State Assembly in connection with the appropriation of funds for the presidential chancellery, police, the paramilitary Kaitseliit union, and defense in general. As many as five alternative amendments concerning increasing the Kaitseliit's funding were put to the vote during the final reading.

The 1995 Estonian state budget was approved without a deficit. It totals 8,793 billion kroon—one and a half times more than in the current year. The lion's share of revenue of 4.3 billion kroon is to come from turnover tax. And the lion's share of expenditure of 4.1 billion kroon is being set aside for social security, of which 3 billion will go on pension payments.

In connection with this, the appropriation of 36 million kroon from the pension fund to pay employees of the Ministry of Social Affairs seems more than strange. But on the other hand, there is nothing strange about it when next year the Estonian Government has made increasing the pay of state officials by 8.8 percent of the overall budget a priority.

An investment project worth 1.6 billion kroon has been presented to the State Assembly for the first time in the new budget. Its priorities include investments of 420 million kroon in power engineering and 294 million in the development of transportation and communications. Of course, none of the State Assembly's leading economists rules out that it may prove necessary to adopt a supplementary budget in the new year. The reason for this is inflation and a rise in the population's living standards. But all are firmly convinced that, like this year, it will not account for a fourth of the total budget.

One final thing. There are persistent rumors of a forthcoming devaluation of the national currency—the kroon. Although the republic's Prime Minister Tarand described all this talk at his recent press conference as "disinformation pure and simple," who knows. After all it is not for nothing that popular wisdom holds that "there is no smoke without fire." All the more so as the prominent Estonian economist and member of the State Assembly T. Made believes even today that "all the signs for a future devaluation of the kroon are in the air." According to him, "the first sign that something is going amiss with the national currency was the observation that President of the Bank of Estonia S. Kallas suddenly and for no apparent reason decided to turn his back on the economy and take up politics." It has to be said that members of parliament publicly reprimanded him for this by rejecting the chief financier's candidacy in the vote for the post of prime minister. But this is just one side of the question. T. Made considers that "the fact that even now imports far exceed exports in the country is also a sign of the imminent devaluation of the kroon, which means that the kroon's cover will melt like snow in spring. What is more, income from tourism, transit haulage, and much else besides is rapidly declining. To disregard all of this is to bury your head in the sand like an ostrich, and act as if nothing was happening here to the kroon."

Indeed, over the past two years the kroon has been well and truly "sucked dry" on the internal market. Its purchasing power is now one fourth of what it was at the end of June 1992 when Estonia introduced its national currency. But in other respects, as the well-known song goes, everything is fine, the marchioness is beautiful, everything is better than ever....

Lithuania

Agreement on Free Trade With European Union Ratified

LD2212152094 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Lithuanian Seimas ratified an agreement on free trade with the European Union

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today. The ratification of this agreement is also important to Lithuania because it would help to sign an agreement with the Visegrad countries, said Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius at the plenary sitting of the Seimas. The ratification of the agreement and Lithuania's joining GATT are conditions put forward by the Visegrad countries.

Kazys Bobelis, chairman of the Seimas Foreign Affairs Committee, stressed that the ratification of the agreement with the European Union will enable Lithuania to integrate in European structures faster.

Landsbergis Criticizes Indifference Toward Chechen

LD2212150994

[FBIS Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0830 GMT broadcasts a 10-minute live interview with Seimas opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis, by an unidentified correspondent.

During the interview, Landsbergis talks about the events Chechnya and Lithuania's relations with Chechnya when he was chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. Asked by the correspondent to express his view on the present attitude of the Lithuanian Government toward the situation in Chechnya, Landsbergis says:

"I think this attitude exposes the roots of the present Lithuanian Government, the roots of subordination to the Soviet Union and to Moscow's centralism. The government is very afraid of doing anything which would not be to Moscow's liking. Of course, we see in the West, too, a certain hypocrisy, a lack of consistency, when they say that this is Russia's internal affair, period. To kill people, bomb towns, children's and old people's homes, drive thousands—even hundreds of thousands of people—from their dwellings, thenthis is the state's internal affair. It can do anything it wants there.

"This has never happened before; even during the time of the Soviet Union, dissidents such as Andrey Sakharov, the fighters for human rights, and for religious liberty and freedom of worship were supported throughout the world, and not only by organizations but also by whole states. They understood that the problem of human rights is fundamental if one wishes to see a future world which is humane and democratic. Currently all this seems to be forgotten. It is possible to bomb villages and towns, kill and drive away people, and this is Russia's internal affair. It is difficult to imagine a greater hypocrisy.

"Unfortunately, Lithuania, represented by its officials, is on this unattractive side, although it is being said that we treat these issues like the West. There is no need to pretend that we join somebody. We must have our own stance. Such a stance has been expressed by the Estonian and Latvian parliaments, and even by the Ukrainian Supreme Council, by the Kazakhstan Government, and not to mention the Islamic countries. Voices are also being heard from the Western states: Stop the bloodshed. But who started this bloodshed? Who attacked whom? Has Chechnya attacked Russia? Of course not. Thus Russia should stop the bloodshed."

Resolution Passed on Russian Actions in Chechnya

LD2212144794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Dec 22 (Interfax)—Lithuania's Sejmas (parliament) passed Wednesday [21 December] night a resolution on Chechnya recommending the republican Foreign Ministry to contact CSCE, "over the particularly crude violations of human rights with the Russian Federation and its troops" taking part in these violations, "particularly in actions," resulting in "thousands of deaths and new streams of refugees."

The Sejmas voiced confidence that Lithuanian delegates to the Council of Europe will bring up these issues and they also spoke in favor of debating these questions at UN and other bodies.

As Interfax has learned from sources in Vilnius, Romualda Hofertiene, the leader of a good will mission appointed by the Sejmas, is on her way to Moscow to add to efforts to find a settlement to the Chechecn conflict. She is accompanied by ex-deputy premier Romualdas Ozolas, a member of the mission. The envoys intend to meet with Russian parliamentarians and take other steps toward resolving the Chechen issue peacefully.

Draft Accords Reached With Russians on Border Issues

LD2212205294 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs press and information department reports that a draft treaty on the state border has been in the main coordinated by the Lithuanian and Russian diplomats at the negotiations which were concluded yesterday.

A three day round of negotiations held in Juodkrante [south of Klaipeda on the Kursiai Nerija] was headed by Rimantas Sidlauskas, secretary of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador Yuriy Sholmov.

The negotiators agreed on draft maps of the state border as far as the Baltic Sea and their description. Proposals were exchanged on coordination of the state border in the Baltic Sea, the economic zone and, the principles for separation of the continental shelf.

President Discusses Reform, Ties With Belarus

WS2312123094 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 20 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President Algirdas Brazauskas by BELINFORM correspondent Yakaw Alekseychyk; place and date not given: "People Gain Experience Through Personal Mistakes"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] [Alekseychyk] Mr. President, the history of Belarusian-Lithuanian relations has never been darkened by conflicts. Quite on the contrary, in Soviet times for instance, the two republics were actively cooperating with one another, which, accompanied by other factors, helped them obtain positions among the most developed republics in the USSR. However now, when the two neighboring states are independent, there is no treaty on friendship and cooperation between them.

[Brazauskas] The drafting of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between our two states has been going on for an unjustifiably long time. For Lithuania and Belarus the drafting of a treaty, which would envision the major principles of interstate cooperation, is a priority task. The text of the treaty has been virtually coordinated by now, and I hope that the treaty will be signed in the immediate future. In accordance with our agreement, we are waiting for [Belarusian] President Lukashenka to come to Vilnius and sign it.

[Alekseychyk] As we know, you met Alyaksandr Lukashenka in Budapest. Did you talk about the date of his visit to Vilnius?

[Brazauskas] During our meeting, we discussed two things: First, how to promptly complete the delineation of our border and resolve the accompanying problems (luckily there are few of those left); second, we discussed President Lukashenka's visit to Lithuania. The visit was scheduled for an earlier date, but in light of certain circumstances it was postponed. I hope that it will be take place in January.

[Alekseychyk] Do you not think that talks on border demarcation have gone on for too long? Was it worthwhile to make the discussion of the Hadutsishki [disputed railway station on Belarusian-Lithuanian border] issue so politically emotional?

[Brazauskas] A lot of unnecessary emotions surrounded the discussion of the Hadutsishki issue, but our delegations have managed to resolve the matter. Now, to complete the three-year work of experts and sign the treaty, we should specify certain minor points. I am sure that if not in 1994, then at the very beginning of 1995 the treaty will be ratified and signed.

[Alekseychyk] Given the new market conditions, which directions of economic cooperation [between Lithuania and Belarus] do you find most promising?

[Brazauskas] While developing economic cooperation between our two states we should take advantage of the following factors—our location along the routes between East and West, as well as North and South; a high concentration of qualified workers; and a good production infrastructure.

We should primarily encourage joint Lithuanian-Belarusian ventures and the sale of their products in both East and West. Along with that, we should pursue a rational customs policy.

Second, we should develop transit. For that, we should determine transit procedures and coordinate customs tariffs.

[Alekseychyk] Belarus has no access to the sea. What is the approach of the Lithuanian side toward the use of the Klaypeda port in the context of Belarusian-Lithuanian relations?

[Brazauskas] The use of the Klaypeda port is profitable for Belarus, as well as Lithuania. This is the closest port for Belarusian cargo, and Belarus is linked to it by good transport routes. We, too, are very interested in increasing the flow of cargo via our port.

Two directions of our cooperation are possible. The first—participation in the development of the port. I understand that at present, this is not a simple issue for either Lithuania or Belarus. The other direction is the processing of transit cargo. Belarus is currently exporting its products to the West via the Klaypeda port, although the volume of shipments is not very big. After the port is developed and our economies strengthen, however, the flow of products will increase. We are always ready to cooperate in that field.

[Alekseychyk] People in Belarus tend to believe that Lithuanians are ahead of us in economic reform. Could you tell us what accomplishments your state has made in that area, particularly in overcoming such bitter problems as declining production, inflation, and energy supplies?

[Brazauskas] Lithuania embarked on the path of economic reform earlier than Belarus. We managed to stop the production decline no earlier than four years after the reform process began. In all the states undergoing transition to a market-type economy, this is the average duration of declining production. The scale of decline is the only difference. I think that in our country that scale was quite large. Among the principal causes of the decline, I would mention certain mistakes made while introducing reform, a leap toward world prices, sudden disruption of ties with other states, especially CIS members.

The problem of energy supplies is especially acute for both Lithuania and Belarus. This issue should be resolved thoughtfully, and alternative sources should be sought.

Last year, by means of a well-considered monetary policy we stopped soaring inflation, which enabled us to make a transition to a national currency. In my opinion, transition to free-market prices should be gradual; this process cannot be left uncontrolled.

[Alekseychyk] Society and its individual members gain experience, both positive and negative. What kind of experience, accumulated in the process of reforming Lithuania's economy, would you not like to share with your friends and neighbors? What mistakes would you recommend that they avoid?

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[Brazauskas] No matter what lessons are taught by life, it is through personal mistakes that people gain experience. Meanwhile, it would be much more simple to take into account the mistakes of their neighbors and try to avoid them. I believe that the principal thing is to avoid hasty ill-considered decisions, particularly in privatization issues. Let us first talk about agrarian reform. While implementing reform before 1992, we made mistakes against which we would like to forewarn our neighbors. In agrarian production Lithuania and Belarus have always been, so to speak, major rivals. I am referring to production standards, efficiency, and culture. We used to closely cooperate with one another, and I remember well the great accomplishments Belarus achieved in its agrarian complex.

The liquidation of the kolkhoz system, without suggesting any alternative, was a mistake. We realize that the kolkhoz system is not the most efficient form of production, because the relation to property should be precisely determined for every citizen. This is a mandatory prerequisite for introducing a free market. Reform of kolkhozes should be carried out very carefully. It can be implemented by sharing their stock or by some other method—I am not speaking about the mechanism; I am speaking about the principle. Then we will be able to think about creating conditions for individual, family farming. The destruction that occurred in our state is a very bad example.

The other example is of an opposite nature and related to our experience of pursuing monetary policies. We have our own currency, stability, as well as a national hard currency and gold reserves, which guarantee domestic convertibility of the lit. We have made certain achievements in this field, especially after introducing the national currency, which we rigidly tied to the U.S. dollar. I believe that this is our primary accomplishment over the last two years. Not speaking about the political aspect of this matter, I would like to emphasize that the state should pursue its own monetary policy. A state cannot manage its economy if it cannot manage its own monetary system.

[Alekseychyk] In Lithuania, as well as Belarus, stores are filled with imported products. Not very long ago, however, Lithuania and Belarus were ahead of developed states with regard to per capita agrarian production....

[Brazauskas] The stores are filled with imported products not because there is a lack of domestic ones. Rather on the contrary, those are competitive products, which are a heavy burden on Lithuanian producers. It is sad that those [imported] products are not always of a high quality.

In my opinion, Lithuanians have had their fill of imported foodstuffs and have started to give preference to domestic ones.

Speaking shortly, agriculture in Lithuania suffered more than other sectors. Now we have to correct the mistakes. Both the agrarian reform fund and certain protectionism in customs tariffs are aimed at that.

[Alekseychyk] A discussion is currently under way in Belarus on whether the state should subsidize the agricultural sector. There are people who say that agriculture cannot survive without subsidies, given the seasonal nature of agrarian production; others claim that state support for kolkhozes and sovkhozes is all but the primary source of inflation. What does the experience in Lithuania demonstrate?

[Brazauskas] Of course, agriculture deserves state support. However, the question is whom to support. Similar discussions are being held in Lithuania, too. The principle "an earring for every sister" does not suit us. I believe that a very selective approach should be applied. Subsidies should be given for concrete amounts of products—a kilogram of milk or a quintal of grain, to encourage efficiency.

In our state, assistance for agriculture is rendered through low- interest credits—5 percent per year. A special fund for supporting agriculture is being established; the state budget, too, allocates funds for this.

[Alekseychyk] Lithuania is approaching NATO. Will this impact its relations with neighbors, particularly Belarus? If so, in what way?

[Brazauskas] Lithuania has expressed its decision regarding membership in NATO. Our striving toward European security structures will in no way infringe on Belarusian interests. Every state, including Belarus, after signing the "Partnership for Peace" program, will determine their further relations with NATO by signing bilateral agreements. We all know that the issue of accession to NATO will not be resolved in the immediate future.

[Alekseychyk] Many people in our country are concerned with the procedure of crossing the Belarusian-Lithuanian border. I presume that this situation—in which a lot of red tape is involved—is also unsatisfying for the Lithuanians. What is your vision of the border between our two states, and what are the prospects for liberalizing the border-crossing procedure?

[Brazauskas] My deep belief is that the border should unite rather than separate our peoples. The procedure should be maximally simplified. However, you should agree that to prevent the smuggling of narcotics and weapons, as well as illegal immigration, our border cannot be absolutely transparent. Both Belarus and Lithuania have an interest in this. Yet instead of toughening the procedure we should liberalize it.

[Alekseychyk] My last question is related to the upcoming New Year. What would you wish yourself, your people, and your neighbors?

[Brazauskas] In light of the circumstances under which we are currently living, I would like to wish optimism

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and hopes for the better. We should try to not be discouraged and malicious: we should avoid mutual accusations. Many things in our lives are caused by objective reasons. One should not think that if authorities are criticized, pressured, or accused life will become better. The authorities, too, emerged from the people. Nobody will send us a genius or magician, thanks to whom everybody will drive Mercedeses and have plenty to eat. No, we need labor, organization, understanding, and perseverance. We should be able not to rush from side to side and complete what has been started. Particularly since we are living in a complex period.

I am sure that next year will be a better one. The more so since Belarus has a rich experience and good potential.

[Alekseychyk] Thank you for the interview and for the good wishes.

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